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ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE CITIES OF ASIA MINOR IN LATE ANTIQUITY

Edited by Ortwin Dally and Christopher Ratté



AD IV 5587
A-5841504

Kelsey Museum Publication 6

Ann Arbor, Michigan 2011

Published by
Kelsey Museum of Archaeology
The University of Michigan
434 South State Street
Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1390
USA

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ISBN 978-0-9741873-5-8

This book is available direct from
The David Brown Book Company
PO Box 511, Oakville, CT 06779, USA
(Telephone 860-945-9329; Fax 860-945-9468)

and

Park End Place, Oxford OX1 1HN, United Kingdom
(Telephone 01865-241249; Fax 01865-794449)
www.oxbowbooks.com

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Preface and Acknowledgments

Ortwin Dally and Christopher Ratté

The city was the fundamental social institution of Greek and Roman culture from the emergence of the Greek polis in the eighth century B.C. to the collapse of the Roman empire fifteen hundred years later. This volume examines the archaeological evidence for the last phase in the life of the cities of Asia Minor, from the early fourth to the early seventh centuries A.D. It also highlights the different kinds of contributions being made by two very different forms of archaeological research: on the one hand, re-examination of the urban sites that have been the focus of long-running excavations, the so-called big digs at places such as Sardis, Miletus, Ephesus, and Aphrodisias; on the other hand, archaeological survey projects both in the hinterlands of cities such as Troy in northwestern western Asia Minor, and in more remote regions such as Cilicia and Osrhoene in southeastern Asia Minor and North Syria. Among the main concerns of the big dig projects is the visual culture of the Graeco-Roman city, and a major contribution of new research both in the capital at Constantinople and in provincial towns has been to highlight the resilience of established traditions of Graeco-Roman civic life, such as the role of private philanthropy or euergetism in the maintenance and beautification of the built environment. Survey archaeology, by contrast, tends to focus on the interaction between town and countryside and in particular on economic issues; as such, it promises to continue to illuminate the widespread if not universal collapse of town life in Asia Minor that marks the transition from antiquity to the Middle Ages.

ASIA MINOR LAY at the center of the late antique world, thanks to the founding of Constantinople in A.D. 330, the many prosperous and well-established cities of its Aegean and Mediterranean coasts, and the emergence of a rich and complex frontier culture to the east. Indeed much of Asia Minor was more heavily urbanized in Roman times than it was until the modern era, and for this reason the archaeological remains of the region's ancient cities are unusually well-preserved. The cities of Asia Minor thus provide a uniquely rich body of evidence for archaeological study of a period of great historical change, characterized by many concerns of real contemporary relevance, such as conflicts over religious identity; urban decay and renewal; and the functioning of empire.

The rise of Christianity, famously identified by Gibbon as a principal cause of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, has always been a major theme of historical study. Archaeology plays a prominent role in debates over subjects such as the degree of conflict and accommodation between different religious communities in late antiquity, and Asia Minor is an area of particular interest. Although it was one of the most thoroughly Christianized regions of the Roman empire, in part because of the attraction of its many Hellenistic Jewish communities to early Christian proselytizers including Paul of Tarsus, some prominent cities such as Aphrodisias still remained centers of pagan learning as late as the fifth century A.D., and new studies of epigraphic and archaeological evidence

this volume, including the German Archaeological Institute (collaborating for the first time, but we hope not the last, in the co-sponsorship of an academic symposium at an American university), the American Friends of the German Archaeological Institute, and the following units of the University of Michigan: the Department of Classical Studies; the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology; the College of Literature, Science, and the Arts; the Rackham Graduate School; the International Institute; and the Interdepartmental Program in Classical Art and Archaeology. This volume appears in the series, Kelsey Museum Publications, and we would like to thank the Director of the Museum, Professor Sharon Herbert, and the Director of the Museum's Publications Program, Professor Terry Wilfong, for their interest and advice. We are also pleased to thank Angela Commito, Lydia Herring-Harrington, Jared Secord, and Stephanie Ulmer for their careful and enthusiastic editorial and administrative assistance. Last but not least, for layout and design, we are grateful for the patience and the talents of Margaret Lourie.

1

Sardis in Late Antiquity

Marcus Rautman

Asia Minor has always been central to the study of classical urban culture, particularly during its long late antique twilight.¹ Understanding this transitional phase of ancient settled life has come a long way since the 19th century, when western travelers to Turkey began systematically recording inscriptions and standing walls. By the 1920s there existed enough of a documentary record for Victor Schultze to survey the historical topography of major Anatolian poleis in the first centuries A.D.² It was against this limited archaeological background that fifty years ago Ernst Kirsten summarized what then was known of the late classical city's institutional structure, reframing the study of Mediterranean urbanism during the eastern Middle Ages and stimulating a wave of fresh inquiry.³

By coincidence, 1958 was the same year that George M.A. Hanfmann began excavating at Sardis. Hanfmann's interest in the site grew out of his work with early Iron Age pottery from Tarsus, and with related material recovered at Sardis by Howard Crosby Butler in 1910–1914, mainly at the famous Artemis Temple and the nearby necropolis.⁴ Informed by this experience, Hanfmann targeted the early Lydian capital of Croesus and his predecessors as a primary objective. At the same time he recognized that Sardis was an important place throughout antiquity, with visible remains inescapably calling attention to its classical past. Exploring the city “through all phases of history” was from the beginning one of the expedition's stated aims.⁵

¹ The Michigan-D.A.I. symposium took place during the Sardis Expedition's 50th anniversary year, which prompted this review of the site's contribution to the field. I am grateful to the symposium organizers, Ortwin Dally and Christopher Ratté, for providing the occasion to discuss current work and learn from other participants in Ann Arbor. My thinking about Sardis in all its phases has benefited from years of collaboration with Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr., and Nicholas D. Cahill, past and present field directors of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis.

Preliminary expedition reports have appeared in AASOR, AJA, BASOR, and *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*. Abbreviations are used for several fundamental works:

Buckler and Robinson, *Inscriptions* = W.H. Buckler and D.M. Robinson, *Sardis VII. Greek and Latin Inscriptions* (Leiden 1932).

Butler, *Sardis* = H.C. Butler, *Sardis I. The Excavations, Part 1. 1910–1914* (Leiden 1922).

Foss, *Sardis* = C. Foss, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis, Sardis M4* (Cambridge, MA 1976).

Hanfmann, *Sardis* = G.M.A. Hanfmann, *Sardis from Pre-historic to Roman Times. Results of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, 1958–1975* (Cambridge, MA 1983).

Hanfmann and Waldbaum, *Survey* = G.M.A. Hanfmann and J.C. Waldbaum, *A Survey of Sardis and the Major Monuments outside the Walls, Sardis R1* (Cambridge, MA 1975).

Love for Lydia = N.D. Cahill (ed.), *Love for Lydia: A Sardis Anniversary Volume presented to Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr., Sardis R4* (Cambridge, MA 2008).

All illustrations ©Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/Harvard University.

² V. Schultze, *Altchristliche Städte und Landschaften 2. Kleinasien* (Gütersloh 1922–1926).

³ E. Kirsten, “Die byzantinische Stadt,” in *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress III* (Munich 1958) 1–48; G. Ostrogorsky, “Byzantine cities in the early Middle Ages,” *DOP* 13 (1959) 47–66; D. Claude, *Die byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert* (Munich 1969).

⁴ Butler, *Sardis*. For the site before Butler, see Schultze, *Altchristliche Städte* (supra n. 2), 145–52; Hanfmann and Waldbaum, *Survey*, 1–2.

⁵ BASOR 154 (1959) 13; Hanfmann, *Sardis*, 139, relying mainly on the epigraphic record compiled by Buckler and Robinson, *Inscriptions*.

The informal dispatches and letters that Hanfmann wrote from the field still make good reading.⁶ They anticipate in many ways the lively, often conjectural tone of online excavation blogs posted by field directors; as such they preserve a vivid narrative of discoveries made at Sardis from the archaic through medieval periods, but particularly, as it turned out, during Roman times—and this during the very years that late antiquity was gaining acceptance as a disciplinary field. The appearance of specialist reports over the following generation ensured that Sardis would occupy a prominent place in modern understanding of the period. The opening chapter of Clive Foss's 1976 book, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis*, gives a sweeping overview of the site from the third through sixth centuries that stands as a landmark synthesis of historical and material evidence in writing urban history. Drawing upon the results of nearly 20 years of excavation, his account remains one of the best-known studies of a late classical city in the eastern Mediterranean. This paper builds on these foundations by reviewing 30 years of further investigation and asking what they add to the story the site can tell.

Sardis's contribution to the archaeology of late antiquity rests mainly on excavations carried out in the northwest part of the urban site. The most significant achievements to date include the following: clearing and reconstructing part of the great Bath-Gymnasium Complex, and so tangibly illustrating the scale of Roman urbanism; identifying and displaying the synagogue, the largest such building known from antiquity; excavating a row of street-side residences or shops and inventorying their considerable contents; and publishing monographic studies of coins, glass, metals, and sculpture. Together with volumes on earlier occupation phases, these publications have made Sardis a key reference point in classical studies.⁷ Since 1976, work directed by Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr., has brought attention to other parts of the site and its environs. This second phase of exploration has produced major discoveries about life in the archaic settlement, of Sardis during the Hellenistic period, and about the Roman city's extent and organization between the first and seventh centuries.⁸ Unsurprisingly, traces of late antiquity have been found to be nearly ubiquitous, appearing in abundance from the edge of the Hermus plain to the northern slopes of the acropolis, and along the rising valley of the Pactolus river as well (fig. 1). At the same time, it has been shown that natural landscape changes have left most early habitation levels deeply buried, beyond the reach of casual sampling and remote sensing, but preserved for future excavation.⁹

Sardis occupies a strategic location in the central valley of the Hermus river, the second longest watercourse draining the western Anatolian plateau to the Aegean sea.¹⁰ The situation must not have

⁶ G.M.A. Hanfmann, *Letters from Sardis* (Cambridge, MA 1972), covering the first 14 campaigns.

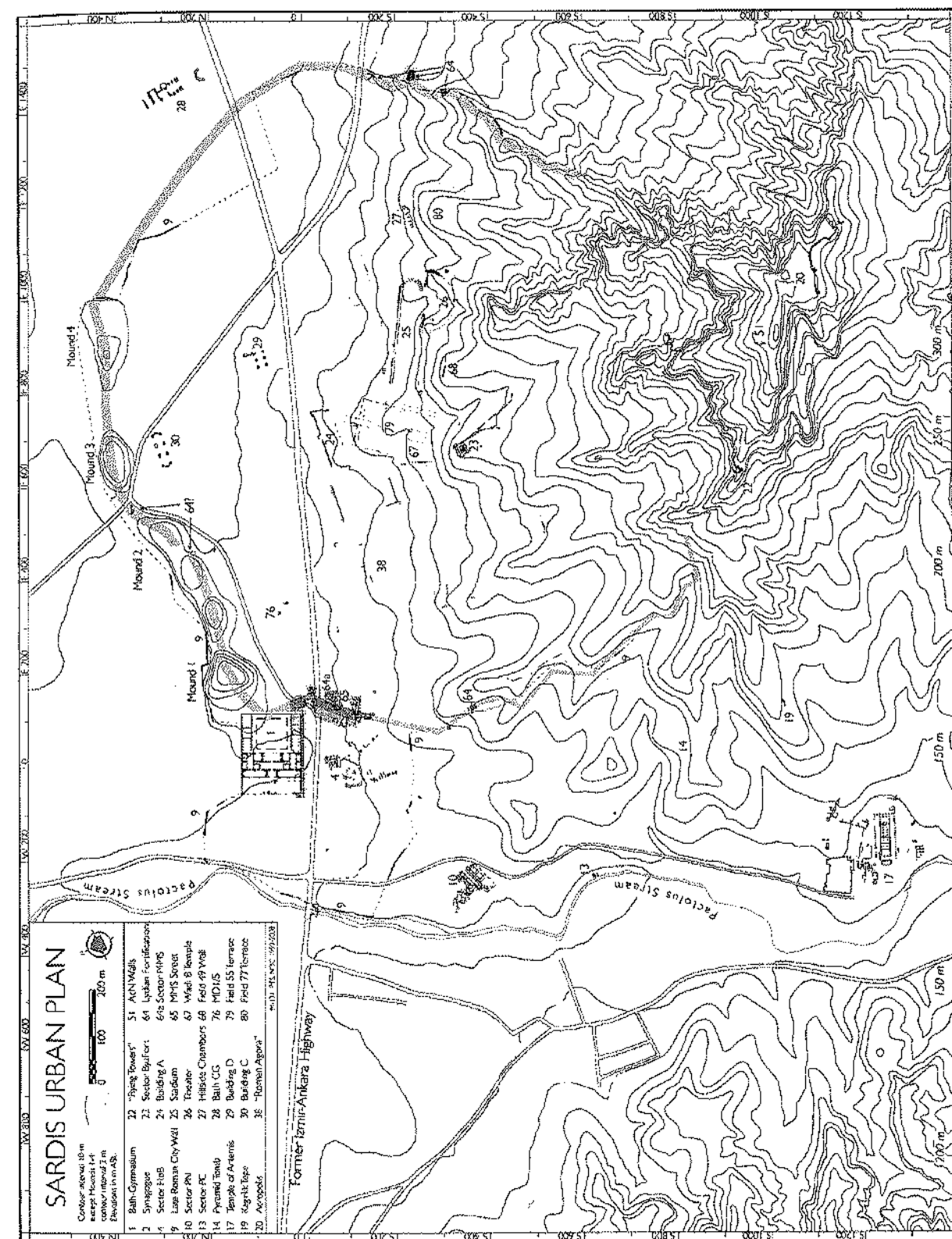
⁷ Final expedition reports dealing with Roman and later antiquity include G.E. Bates, *Byzantine Coins, Sardis M1* (Cambridge, MA 1971); Hanfmann and Waldbaum, *Survey*; G.M.A. Hanfmann and N.H. Ramage, *Sculpture from Sardis: The Finds through 1975, Sardis R2* (Cambridge, MA 1978); A. von Saldern, *Ancient and Byzantine Glass from Sardis, Sardis M6* (Cambridge, MA 1980); T.V. Buttrey, A. Johnston, K.M. MacKenzie, and M.L. Bates, *Greek, Roman, and Islamic Coins from Sardis, Sardis M7* (Cambridge, MA 1981); J.C. Waldbaum, *Metalwork from Sardis: The Finds through 1974, Sardis M8* (Cambridge, MA 1983); F.K. Yegül, *The Bath-Gymnasium Complex at Sardis, Sardis R3* (Cambridge, MA 1986); J.S. Crawford, *The Byzantine Shops at Sardis, Sardis M9* (Cambridge, MA 1990).

⁸ An illustrated overview of the site and its monuments is

assembled by C.H. Greenewalt, Jr., N.D. Cahill, P.T. Stinson, and F.K. Yegül, *The City of Sardis: Approaches in Graphic Recording* (Cambridge, MA 2003). For a summary of research focusing on the pre-Roman period, see C.H. Greenewalt, Jr., "Sardis," in W. Radt (ed.), *Stadtgrabungen und Stadtforschung im westlichen Kleinasien—Geplantes und Erreichtes, Byzas 3* (Istanbul 2006) 359–72.

⁹ W. Warfield, "Report on the geology of Sardis," in Butler, *Sardis*, 175–80; Hanfmann and Waldbaum, *Survey*, 54–55; G.W. Olson, "Landslides at Sardis in western Turkey," *Geological Society of America, Reviews in Engineering Geology* 3 (1977) 255–72; *BASOR* 245 (1982) 7–15. For remote sensing, see *BASOR* Suppl. 25 (1988) 55–92, at 62; *AJA* 102 (1998) 500–2; *AJA* 104 (2000) 679–80.

¹⁰ For the wider geographic setting, see C.H. Roosevelt, *The Archaeology of Lydia, from Gyges to Alexander* (Cambridge 2009) 33–58.



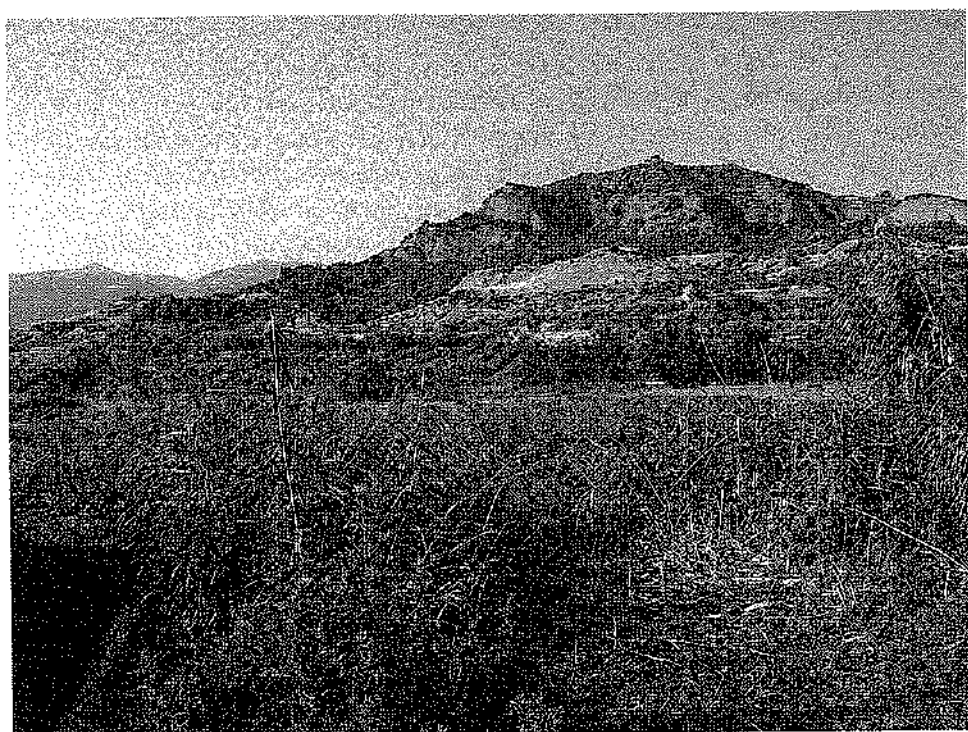


Fig. 2. Sardis, acropolis with theater, from the north.

been particularly convenient from the standpoint of Rome. Travel along the highway from Ephesus, Smyrna, or Pergamon could take up to three days to reach the center of inland Lydia, a geographically diverse territory stretching from the Ionian coast to the highlands of Phrygia. Much of the road ran through the broad, fertile plain of the Hermus valley, which was surrounded by mountains and dotted with the famous tumuli described by Herodotus. Tombs and mausolea of Hellenistic and Roman date appeared along the highway as the Roman traveler neared the city. Crossing the small but fabled Pactolus river, one arrived at Sardis itself (fig. 2).

This was one of the earliest, and surely among the best-known, urban centers of western Asia Minor, with nearly a millennium of occupation preceding late antiquity.¹¹ Traces of early settlement remain in shadow, but by the seventh to sixth centuries B.C. pockets of habitation had been established on the lower north-facing slopes of the acropolis and along the banks of the Pactolus. The most spectacular discovery of recent years has been the monumental fortification that surrounded the Lydian capital in the mid-sixth century B.C.: a massive structure of stone and mudbrick, some 20 m across at its base and rising more than 10 m high, that descended from the steep acropolis and pushed onto the plain. While most of archaic and Persian Sardis lies beneath deep layers of alluvium and landslide, it has become clear that terraces and buildings set up around this time shaped the terrain for generations to come. The framework of Hellenistic Sardis, either before or after Antiochus intervened in its affairs in 213 B.C., is less evident on the ground.¹² Of known urban monuments, only

¹¹ For the literary background, see J.G. Pedley, *Ancient Literary Sources, Sardis M2* (Cambridge, MA 1972).

¹² C.H. Greenewalt, Jr., "Sardis in the time of Xenophon," in P. Briant (ed.), *Dans les pas des Dix-Mille, Pallas* 43 (Aix 1995) 125–45; C. Ratté, "Reflections on the urban development of Hellenistic Sardis," in *Love for Lydia*, 125–33.

the theater in its earliest phase may plausibly date to this period. The sanctuary of Artemis, situated well apart from the city about 1 km up the Pactolus valley, was clearly an important place even if its appearance is unclear. Much that is known about Hellenistic Sardis takes the form of architectural or sculptural remains that were incorporated into later buildings, or pottery recovered from isolated houses and secondary fills laid down after the site's devastation by earthquake in A.D. 17.¹³

At this point the classical city begins to come into focus. A well-known passage in Tacitus (*Annals* 2.47) records the nocturnal earthquake that rocked western Asia and left Sardis critically damaged. Reconstruction is said to have begun immediately with the support of the imperial treasury under the supervision of a senate-appointed commissioner. Like massive relief operations of recent times, urban recovery must have progressed slowly and was never completed as planned.¹⁴ Clearing debris and restoring essential public services no doubt claimed the highest priority. A series of public commemorations attests imperial interest in the city and other parts of the province. A large statue base found in the western city honors the deified Tiberius as "founder of the city," and a municipal temple dedicated to him is known. Germanicus is similarly honored as "kaisara theon sebaston" in an enormous inscription set up by Caligula.¹⁵ An inscription of A.D. 53/54 commemorates the completion under Claudius of an aqueduct; the presence of standing piers, mortar-lined channels, and terracotta pipes in the surrounding hills and valleys makes clear that multiple sources were eventually needed to supply the city.¹⁶ Excavation regularly encounters thick layers of occupation debris of late Hellenistic and Augustan date, which were leveled to form broad shelves, sometimes 2–3 m deep, on the lower hillslopes and plain.¹⁷

Recent work has confirmed several key components of Sardis's first-century A.D. reconstruction near the center of the urban site. The combined efforts of topographic study, remote sensing, and selective excavation have sketched the outlines of three great public buildings on the north side of the acropolis: the theater, the stadium, and a temple that faced onto a vast terrace. The theater is the most easterly known monument of the upper city and likely stood atop the remains of a Hellenistic predecessor. The hillside preserves the unmistakable shape of the cavea, which may have accommodated 12,000–15,000 spectators, and both parados walls have long been visible to travelers through the area.¹⁸ Recent excavation on the theater's western slope has identified substantial parts of the eroded structure, including mortared foundations for seats and an intact section of the marble-paved diazoma. The lower cavea and orchestra are still filled by as much as 7 m of tumbled architectural debris, which includes fragments of the building's decoration and seats, some inscribed. Further

¹³ For recent assessment of excavated contexts, see S.I. Rotroff, *Hellenistic Pottery from Sardis, Sardis M13* (Cambridge, MA 2003) 11–15.

¹⁴ The slow pace of reconstruction may have been one reason why nine years later Sardis lost to Smyrna in competing to host the provincial temple honoring Tiberius (Tacitus, *Annals* 4.55–56).

¹⁵ For the Tiberius inscription, set up under Claudius and found at Sector MMS/N, see *BASOR* 29 (1983) 13, fig. 15; C. Foss, "Appendix: Inscriptions related to the complex," in Yegül, *Bath-Gymnasium Complex* (supra n. 7), 169 no. 1, fig. 32. Comparable language appears in an inscription seen at Turgutlu, about 30 km west of Sardis, and published in Buckler and Robinson, *Inscriptions*, 57 no. 39. For the 2 m-long block honoring Germanicus, see *BASOR* 203 (1971) 14. All three

documents are discussed by P. Herrmann, "Sardeis zur Zeit der iulisch-claudischen Kaiser," in E. Schwertheim (ed.), *Forschungen in Lydien, Asia Minor Studien* 17 (Bonn 1995) 21–36, at 31–36. I have benefited from consulting Professor Herrmann's unfinished manuscript on the Sardis inscriptions.

¹⁶ Buckler and Robinson, *Inscriptions*, 29 no. 10; E. Winter, *Staatliche Baupolitik und Baufürsorge in den römischen Provinzen des kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien, Asia Minor Studien* 20 (Bonn 1996) 180; Herrmann, "Sardeis" (supra n. 15), 31–35. Parts of the aqueduct were traced by Butler (*Sardis*, 35–36, map 1), and are still visible.

¹⁷ Hanfmann, *Sardis*, 143; *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 22.1 (2000) 416–17.

¹⁸ Butler, *Sardis*, 31; R.L. Vann, *The Unexcavated Buildings of Sardis, BAR-IS* 538 (Oxford 1989) 47–58.



Fig. 3. Sardis, theater, east parados wall and excavation of stage building area.

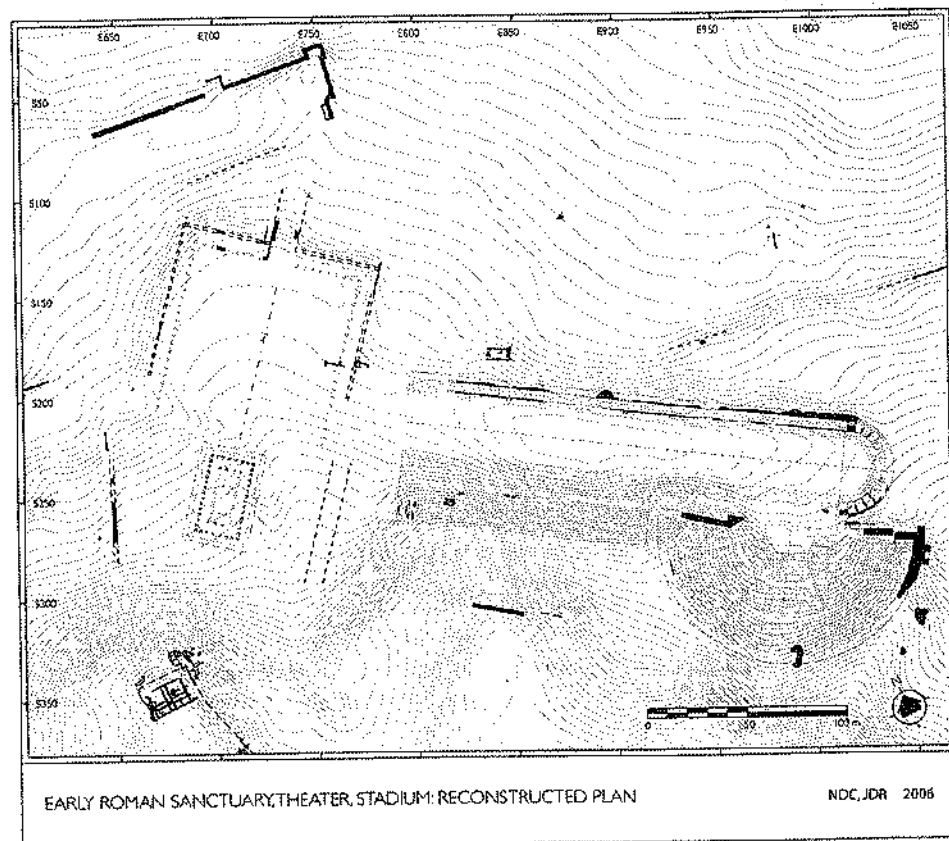


Fig. 4. Sardis, reconstructed plan of Roman temple complex, stadium, and theater.

work to the north of the orchestra indicates that many pieces of the freestanding stage building, two or three stories in height and richly decorated in an Asiatic Ionic or related style, lie close to where they originally stood (fig. 3).¹⁹

Planning and construction of the theater were closely coordinated with the adjacent stadium. The vaulted semicircular *sphendone* lies immediately to the north of the stage building. Long rows of seats were supported by the hillside and vaulted substructures, which stretched westward over a length of some 200 m. The stadium ends below a projecting acropolis spur known as Field 55. Excavation of several sondages on this flat area has established the outlines of a large artificial terrace with deep foundations. At the center of the north side, a 14 m-wide staircase supported by a quadrant vault rose 5 m to the level of an expansive platform, some 100 m wide and 2 ha in area, which apparently was bounded by a portico on columns. Situated on axis to the south, today in a ravine known as Wadi B, was a large Ionic or Corinthian temple, octastyle and pseudoperipteral in plan, with a 22 m-wide façade that would have dominated the precinct (fig. 4).²⁰ The massive amount of architectural debris that has been found along the terrace's eastern edge likely comes from the superstructure of temple and portico: large column bases, fluted shafts, historiated capitals, and finely finished blocks, many inscribed with personal names and formulaic texts honoring as "twice *neokoros*" this metropolis of Asia and all Lydia.²¹ The stratigraphy of terrace and temple foundations suggests that the precinct's development was a sustained effort that began around the middle of the first century A.D. and continued into the second century, a span that broadly applies to the stadium and theater as well. The planning, scale, and execution of all three structures indicate that this was a major initiative, comparable in many ways to the Tiberian-Claudian effort of an earlier generation. Throughout its prolonged construction, this civic showcase would have been a conspicuous feature of the city.²²

Most of Roman Sardis lay below the level of this vast complex, on the lower hillside and along the edge of the Hermus plain. Inscriptions mention the typical landmarks of urban life during the high empire: streets with public squares and fountains; an agora, archive, basilica, and odeum; multiple baths, confraternities, and temples.²³ None of these features can be securely located, but topography clearly favored the lower and more accessible parts of the site. The direction of projected growth can be inferred from a pair of large public baths: the western Bath-Gymnasium Complex and the eastern Bath CG. These roughly contemporary buildings stood 1400 m apart, along the main highway as it approached the city from both sides. Their peripheral siting suggests that city planners anticipated development far to the northwest and northeast, onto land that may still have

¹⁹ For excavation carried out since 2006, see Kazi Sonuçları Toplantısı 29.3 (2007) 372–74, figs. 4–8; Kazi Sonuçları Toplantısı 30.4 (2008) 194, fig. 11.

²⁰ The temple's northeast corner was identified in 1981–1982; see C. Ratté, T.N. Howe, and C. Foss, "An early imperial pseudodipteral temple at Sardis," *AJA* 90 (1986) 45–68. Excavation in 2004–2005 established its breadth and northerly orientation; see Kazi Sonuçları Toplantısı 27.2 (2005) 176, fig. 9. The possibility of *neokoros* status for the temple is considered by B. Burrell, *Neokoroi. Greek Cities and Roman Emperors* (Leiden 2004) 100–3; and R.S. Ascoug, "Greco-Roman religions in Sardis and Smyrna," in R.S. Ascoug (ed.), *Religious Rivalries and the Struggle for Success in Sardis and Smyrna, Studies in Christianity and Judaism* 14 (Waterloo, ON 2005) 40–52, at 44.

²¹ Sardis received its second *neokoros* under the Anto-

nines; see Burrell, *Neokoroi* (supra n. 20), 103. The inscriptions from Field 55 are unpublished but employ similar language to Buckler and Robinson, *Inscriptions*, 74–78 nos. 63–70. They may be later than the temple and not directly reflect its status, but certainly predate the area's destruction.

²² Kazi Sonuçları Toplantısı 28.2 (2006) 743–45, fig. 1; N.D. Cahill, "Mapping Sardis," in *Love for Lydia*, 111–24. Some work on the Wadi B temple may still have been underway when it was destroyed by an earthquake, apparently in the late second or early third century.

²³ Buckler and Robinson, *Inscriptions*, particularly the late second-century list of fountains, 37–40 no. 17. Vitruvius (2.8.9–10) and Pliny (*Natural History* 35.172) record that the *gerousia* still met in the remodeled mudbrick palace of Croesus, a dubious tradition that nevertheless suggests a prominent hillside location, similar to Pergamon.

been used for burials.²⁴ Excavation has established that these quintessential Roman buildings may have been begun in the second half of the first century A.D., but were still under construction in the early 200s.²⁵ As elsewhere, these massive vaulted structures were among the most essential of urban amenities and would have been among the first buildings seen by travelers coming from west and east.

The lower city occupies the plain between the two baths, its deeply buried remains imperfectly glimpsed by remote sensing.²⁶ Excavated structures and other visible features nevertheless attest the presence of a coherent urban grid that presumably was laid out around the mid-first century A.D. and developed over the following generations. One or two major thoroughfares spanning the lower site seem to have established the orientation of important cross streets and buildings.²⁷ The fact that second- and third-century levels have not often been found by excavation elsewhere suggests that most people lived in this little-explored central region. The historical record makes clear the city's status at the time. By the Antonine period, civic concerns reached up the Pactolus valley to the suburban Artemis Temple, whose Hellenistic cella was remodeled to serve as a center of the imperial cult. The Marble Court's dedication to the Severan family in A.D. 211 and the award of a third neokorate under Elagabalus document Sardis's growing urban distinction.²⁸

Many of these buildings of the high empire, powerfully built and of imposing scale, would stand for centuries to come, even as the city around them changed during late antiquity. An event of central importance was Diocletian's raising of Sardis to the rank of provincial capital, a decision that suggests the earthquakes and Gothic invasions of the later third century had not seriously affected the area.²⁹ The city's new status may have had little immediate impact on the lives of local inhabitants, but it ensured that Sardis would be among the places that benefited from the government's move to Constantinople and its growing interest in the Asian heartland. The newly organized province of Lydia included more than 20 cities scattered across the Hermus valley and its surrounding hill country.³⁰ Administering this expanse would have been the responsibility of a centrally appointed governor who occupied an official *praetorium*; the location of this ceremonial residence and political center is unknown, but its urban prominence is clear from other cities. Within a few years the state had also established a major factory for the production of armaments and shields, named in the *Register of Dignitaries* but unidentified on the ground, to supply troops throughout the diocese of Asia.³¹

²⁴ Late Hellenistic and Roman burials have been identified at the western Sector HoB and beyond the eastern city walls near Çaltılı; see Buckler and Robinson, *Inscriptions*, 125 no. 146; Hanfmann, *Sardis*, 123–24; *BASOR* 26 (1990) 161–64.

²⁵ J.C. Waldbaum and G.M.A. Hanfmann, "The Roman Bath CG: Site, plan, and description," in Hanfmann and Waldbaum, *Survey*, 129–50; Yegül, *Bath-Gymnasium Complex* (supra n. 7), 9–16.

²⁶ For geophysical survey of the area, see *AJA* 102 (1998) 500–2; *AJA* 104 (2000) 679–80.

²⁷ Suggested by Hanfmann and Waldbaum, *Survey*, 30, fig. 10; and much refined by Cahill, "Mapping Sardis" (supra n. 22).

²⁸ Buckler and Robinson, *Inscriptions*; for a descriptive overview, see Hanfmann, *Sardis*, 144–48. For the Artemis Temple's status as the city's second *neokoros* foundation, see Burrell, *Neokoroi* (supra n. 20), 103–10; for the third, 110–11.

²⁹ The localized effects of earthquakes and Goths are clear at Ephesus, but less evident at Aphrodisias; see S. Ladstätter

and A. Pülz, "Ephesus in the late Roman and early Byzantine period: Changes in its urban character from the third to the seventh century A.D.," in A.G. Poulter (ed.), *The Transition to Late Antiquity on the Danube and Beyond*, *ProcBritAc* 141 (London 2007) 391–433; compare C. Ratté, "New research on the urban development of Aphrodisias in late antiquity," in D. Parrish (ed.), *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor*, *JRA Suppl.* 45 (Portsmouth, RI 2001) 117–47, at 140–44.

³⁰ P. Herrmann, *Tituli Lydiae*, *TAM* 5 (Vienna 1981–1989); for the setting, see S. Mitchell, *Anatolia. Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor*, vol. 1 (Oxford 1993) 180–83; on the scarcity of sources, idem, "The cities of Asia Minor in the Age of Constantine," in S.N.C. Lieu and D. Montserrat (eds.), *Constantine. History, Historiography, and Legend* (London 1998) 52–73.

³¹ For *praetoria* and their functions, see L. Lavan, "The residences of late antique governors: A gazetteer," *Antiquité tardive* 7 (1999) 135–64, concerning Sardis, 147–48; idem, "The *praetoria* of civil governors in late antiquity," in L. Lavan (ed.), *Recent Research in Late-Antique Urbanism*, *JRA*



Fig. 5. Sardis, view of western quarters with city wall and Bath-Gymnasium Complex, looking north.

Safeguarding while at the same time advertising these strategic assets necessitated the building of fortifications, and most of the city wall appears to date around this time. While much of the wall has eroded or been quarried away, surviving sections indicate an open circuit of about 4 km that capitalized on the site's topography. Originating on the westernmost spur of the acropolis, the wall projected 400–600 m onto the plain, proceeded along a series of low mounds eastward about 1 km, and returned along the most easterly ridge, just beyond the theater. One of the most informative discoveries of recent years has been to see how closely late Roman builders followed the course of the archaic mudbrick fortification, whose monumental remains have been documented in several locations (fig. 1).³² In some places mortared rubble foundations were built immediately next to the archaic structure, which would have been at least 800 years old by this time; elsewhere the two walls may have functioned together, with the later construction closing gaps in the eroding yet still imposing mudbrick defenses. The main departure from precedent is the late Roman wall's 400 m westward extension toward the Pactolus river. On the south side the wall was built atop a sloping mound of residential debris, substantially deposited in the aftermath of the Tiberian earthquake. To the north the builders went out of their way, perhaps scaling back earlier plans, to include the north flank of the western Bath-Gymnasium Complex in the circuit (fig. 5). Protecting this huge structure

Suppl. 42 (Portsmouth, RI 2001) 39–56. For arms production, see Foss, *Sardis*, 14–15; S. James, "The *fabricae*: State arms factories of the later Roman empire," in J.C. Coulston (ed.), *Military Equipment and the Identity of Roman Soldiers. Proceedings of the Fourth Roman Military Equipment Conference*, *BAR-IS* 394 (Oxford 1988) 257–331.

³² *AJA* 104 (2000) 656–68; Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı 22.1 (2000) 416–17. Compare supra n. 23 for the Roman view of

archaic mudbrick architecture at Sardis; and for the larger context, see F.K. Yegül, "Memory, metaphor, and meaning in the cities of Asia Minor," in E. Fentress (ed.), *Romanization and the City. Creation, Transformations, and Failures*, *JRA Suppl.* 38 (Portsmouth, RI 2000) 133–53; and F. Rojas, *Empire of Memories: Anatolian Material Culture and the Imagined Past in Hellenistic and Roman Lydia* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California-Berkeley 2010).

must have been among the builders' primary objectives since a great deal of the enclosed terrain was undeveloped. Altogether the annexation increased the total area of the fortified archaic site by about 20 ha, or nearly 18 per cent.³³

Most of the wall takes the form of short sections of mortared rubble masonry, deeply founded and nearly 2 m thick, which stand as high as 6–8 m (fig. 6).³⁴ Design, materials, and construction methods vary considerably along its length. Sections covering level terrain generally are 5–10 m long and join at sharp angles. The fabric consists mainly of fieldstones set in mortar along with very little brick. Reused architectural blocks appear in foundations and lower courses in several places, particularly on the west side of the city. Four towers of rectangular and rounded plan are known, with variations in design and construction probably reflecting different dates. Nothing remains of the main portals that greeted travelers along the valley highway, although these likely resembled the gates once seen at Philadelphia (Alaşehir), 60 km to the east.³⁵ The smaller road from Hypaepa may have arrived at a narrow opening known as the Southwest Gate, or more plausibly entered the city through a larger portal nearby.

The late Roman city wall marks a turning point in the history of Sardis, yet its date has remained unsettled. From the later third century municipal authorities across the empire were encouraged by the state to build their own fortifications, a move that fundamentally changed the appearance and routines of many classical poleis.³⁶ Moments of military threat in western Asia Minor could favor a date for the Sardis wall in either the mid-third or late fourth century; building the imperial arms factory here more specifically implies that the location was considered secure by the time of Constantine.³⁷ It may be equally reasonable to view the wall in more than strategic terms, however, as part of

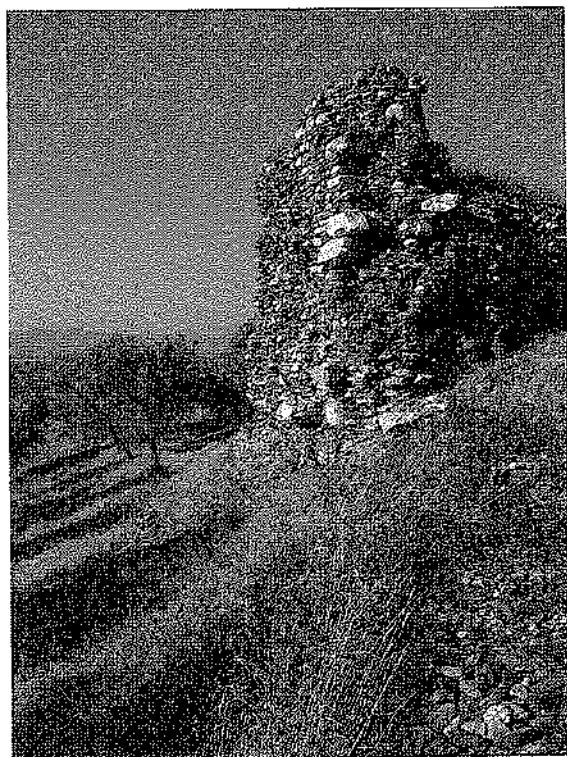


Fig. 6. Sardis, section of western city wall, looking north.

³³ The area south of the Bath-Gymnasium was used for burials through at least the second century; Hanfmann, *Sardis*, 123–24; BASOR 249 (1983) 15–20; BASOR Suppl. 26 (1990) 161–64. For estimates of area, see Greenwalt, "Sardis" (supra n. 8), 364 n. 18.

³⁴ Standing remains are described in D. van Zanten, R.S. Thomas, and G.M.A. Hanfmann, "The city wall," in Hanfmann and Waldbaum, *Survey*, 35–52; see also C. Foss and D. Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications: An Introduction* (Pretoria 1986) 127–28.

³⁵ A. Pralong, "Les remparts de Philadelphie," in H. Ahrweiler (ed.), *Philadelphie et autres études, Byzantina Sorbonensia* 4 (Paris 1984) 101–26.

³⁶ For similar considerations at mid-fourth-century Aphrodisias, see P.D. De Staebler, "The city wall and the making of a late-antique provincial capital," in C. Ratté and R.R.R. Smith (eds.), *Aphrodisias Papers 4. New Research on the City and its Monuments*, JRA Suppl. 70 (Portsmouth, RI 2008) 284–319.

³⁷ Foss, *Sardis*, 3, 7; James, "Fabricae" (supra n. 31), 267; compare Hanfmann, *Sardis*, 143–44; also Mitchell, *Anatolia*, vol. 1 (supra n. 30), 234–36; J. Crow, "Fortifications and urbanism in late antiquity: Thessaloniki and other eastern cities," in Lavan (ed.), *Recent Research* (supra n. 31), 89–105. This also suggests the fortifications encompassed enough open terrain to accommodate a major industrial facility.

an ongoing effort to project a new urban identity throughout antiquity. Construction of a number of vaulted *hypogaea* outside the western wall in the mid- to late fourth century reflects the interest of urban elites in burial close to town.³⁸ The wall's westward extension clearly encouraged the systematic development of the enclosed area in the early fifth century.³⁹ The few stratified deposits that can be associated with the Sardis city wall include finds dating through at least the third century, yet other sections received attention in the fourth century and later. In some places the late Roman wall seems to have replaced parts of the archaic fortification that had remained standing until then.⁴⁰ Certainly no surviving section of the city wall resembles the neatly banded brick and limestone masonry seen on the acropolis in the western portal known as the Flying Towers, nor the massive spoils-work of the fortified summit. The very different fabric, design, and objective of these high walls suggest the work of military engineers who were detailed to the site in later times, perhaps in the late seventh or eighth century, rather than an initiative of local authorities.⁴¹

Altogether the late Roman fortification encloses an area of nearly 130 ha, whose 50,000–100,000 inhabitants would have filled a substantial city by contemporary standards. Changing urban priorities appear clearly in the wall's relation to existing features, particularly the decision to incorporate the western Bath-Gymnasium Complex and its southern environs while excluding the eastern Bath CG. Parts of Bath CG were renovated in late antiquity, with some spaces partitioned and decorated with marble incrustation-style paintings, but how late public bathing continued here is unclear. By the fifth century the location had become remote; there are few signs of nearby habitation, and supplying water to the area would have been increasingly burdensome.⁴² By contrast, much of the Bath-Gymnasium Complex was conscientiously maintained by local patrons and government officials through the fifth and sixth centuries. Continuing public interest in the facility—its ostentatious Marble Court, the colonnaded palaestra onto which it faced, and the gatherings that took place here—coincides with the local quarter's development in the 400s.⁴³ Fifty years of excavation have documented how this activity extended to the construction of new streets, imposing public buildings, and elegant private houses. Equally important is the realization that not all parts of the city shared in this expansion.

The scale of development appears clearly in street building. The main thoroughfare of western Sardis was the so-called Marble Road, a broad colonnaded passage that stretched along the south side of the Bath-Gymnasium Complex. In its early form the Marble Road had no clear urban importance, but its reconstruction ca. A.D. 400, presumably as far as a major gate in the new city wall, would have created a grand concourse for travelers coming from the west. Excavation has documented a 20 m-wide paved

³⁸ For the painted tomb of Flavios Chrysanthios (Tomb 76.1), a high-ranking official in the arms factory, see BASOR 229 (1978) 61–64; BASOR 233 (1979) 4–8. Several other vaulted tombs have been found nearby, two relatively close to the city wall; see infra n. 87.

³⁹ The discovery of a late fourth-century burial in a painted *hypogaeum* (Tomb 79.1) east of the Pactolus might be taken to support a later date for the fortifications, but probably shows that the city wall's construction did not end traditional burial practices in this intra-mural yet still undeveloped area; see BASOR 239 (1983) 22–25. Another nearby *hypogaeum* (Tomb 07.1), also located within the walls, continued to be visited as late as the seventh century; see *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 30.4 (2008) 193–94.

⁴⁰ For recent exploration of the upper western wall (Sec-

tor CW32), see *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 22.1 (2000) 416, figs. 5–6; for the eastern wall (Sector CW6), *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 23.2 (2001) 228, figs. 3–4. Compare the multiple phases of Pergamon's fortifications, as documented by M. Klinkott, *Altortümer von Pergamon XVI. Die Stadtmauern. Teil 1. Die byzantinischen Befestigungsanlagen von Pergamon* (Berlin 2001) 8–33.

⁴¹ BASOR 203 (1971) 12, fig. 8; Foss, *Sardis*, 57–61; Hanfmann and Waldbaum, *Survey*, fig. 24.

⁴² Waldbaum and Hanfmann, "Bath CG" (supra n. 25), 139, 163–65. At some point, perhaps still in late antiquity, the area was flooded and buried by alluvium.

⁴³ Yegül, *Bath-Gymnasium Complex* (supra n. 7), 49–51, fig. 124 for late graffiti suggesting the *boule* and *gerousia* met in the Marble Court.



Fig. 7. Sardis, Marble Road, north colonnade, and Byzantine Shops, looking east.

surface flanked by porticoes and a row of modest structures known as the Byzantine Shops (fig. 7). To the east the Marble Road met a broad paved plaza or square at Sector MMS/N, which was redeveloped about the same time. The south portico's oblique orientation here continues the northeasterly alignment of streets in central Sardis. Other passages from the north and south converged on this public expanse, which linked the Bath-Gymnasium Complex with the rest of the city. The renovation of both Marble Road and plaza underscores their increasing ceremonial and commercial roles in the life of the city.⁴⁴

Two roads to the south appear to be new creations of the period. One is an 18 m-wide colonnaded street running diagonally across the House of Bronzes sector (HoB) toward the Southwest Gate. A multi-pier structure built of marble spolia with a brick-arched superstructure marks its intersection with a second street in Sector MMS. This equally broad, sloping thoroughfare had a 10 m roadway flanked by porticoes supported by large piers and semi-finished columns. Construction of the MMS street was an ambitious project that entailed cutting a trough, 20 m wide and 3–4 m deep, through the area. Doing so required late Roman excavators to remove parts of existing houses as well as the buried remains of the archaic fortification, which they selectively incorporated into the new street wall (fig. 8). None of this new street seems to have been paved, however. Limited excavation of the roadway and both porticos has revealed only packed earth surfaces that rose gradually, from the time of construction ca. A.D. 400 through the sixth century. The apparent goal was to extend the line of

⁴⁴ Ibid., 17–24; Crawford, *Byzantine Shops* (supra n. 7), 3–11. For the MMS/N plaza, see AASOR 53 (1995) 4–6. The Marble Road offered only incidental access to the Bath-Gymnasium, whose main entrance was directly from the plaza or a short colonnaded street leading from it. For monumental urban corridors, see G. Bejor, *Vie colonnate. Paesaggi urbani del mondo antico*, RdA Suppl. 22 (Rome 1999); D. Parrish, "The urban plan and its constituent ele-

ments," in Parrish (ed.), *Urbanism* (supra n. 29), 9–41; and P. Ballet, N. Dieudonné-Glad, and C. Saliou (eds.), *La rue dans l'antiquité. Définition, aménagement, devenir* (Rennes 2008); compare L. Lavan, "The political topography of the late antique city: Activity spaces in practice," in L. Lavan and W. Bowden (eds.), *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology*, *Late Antique Archaeology* 1 (Leiden 2003) 314–37, at 327–31.

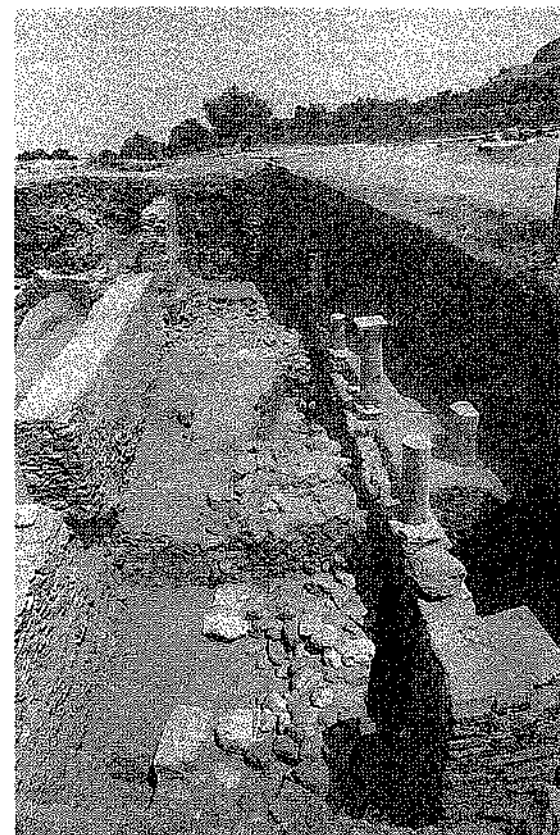


Fig. 8. Sardis, MMS street, north colonnade, and remains of Lydian fortification, looking east.

on the Marble Court podium recalls the restoration of this imposing space by Memnonios, *pater poleos*.⁴⁹ All this activity is difficult to date closely but shows that a continuing engagement with civic patronage ran through the fifth and sixth centuries.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ BASOR 177 (1965) 14–17; BASOR 199 (1970) 28–29. BASOR Suppl. 25 (1988) 18–20 clarifies the urban context for the inscriptions published by Foss, *Sardis*, 115 nos. 18–19. The project's expressly ambiguous sponsorship may reflect the incomplete state in which it was left.

⁴⁶ Zosimus 4.4–8; Ammianus Marcellinus 26.5.8–10.6; Foss, *Sardis*, 7–8. For the unpublished Arcadius inscription, see Kızı Sonuçları Toplantısı 23.2 (2001) 229.

⁴⁷ Foss, *Sardis*, 113–15 nos. 15, 17; Yegül, *Bath-Gymnasium Complex* (supra n. 7), 12–14, 171 nos. 6–7. For the title ("lamprotatou kometos protou bathmou") and other office holders, see D. Feissel, "Vicaires et proconsuls d'Asie du IV^e au VI^e siècle," *Antiquité tardive* 6 (1998) 91–104, at 96–97.

⁴⁸ AASOR 52 (1994) 6–7, fig. 6; V. Scheibelreiter, *Stifterinschriften auf Mosaiken Westkleinasiens*, *Tyche* Suppl. 5 (Vienna 2006) 33–35. For the local context of the name, see

a principal thoroughfare from central Sardis into the new western quarter. An inscription found at the intersection of the two streets identifies one of them as an *embolos* that ran from an unidentified tetrapylon to the *embolos* of Hypaepa, presumably meaning the colonnaded street that led in the direction of the Southwest Gate. An associated text preserves the language of civic euergetism by announcing that this considerable undertaking was carried out without public expense.⁴⁵

Official support is attested elsewhere at Sardis. The emperor Valens is said to have stayed at the site while on campaign ca. A.D. 365, and Arcadius is named by a monumental inscription datable to A.D. 398.⁴⁶ Several civic and provincial officials were involved with work at the Bath-Gymnasium Complex. Basiliskos, a governor of Lydia, relocated a gilded bronze sculpture of entwined snakes from a public fountain to a pool inside the bath. Severos Simplikios, vicar of the diocese of Asia, is credited on the architrave of the Marble Court with restoring the *aleipterion*, apparently meaning the entire complex.⁴⁷ The nearby MMS/N plaza was decorated by Flavios Archelaos, another *vicarius Asiae*, whose name and title were set in mosaic to greet visitors entering the quarter from the east.⁴⁸ A lengthy epigram

G. Petzl, *Tituli Lydiae. Philadelphica et Ager Philadelphenus*, TAM 5.3 (Vienna 2007) 50.

⁴⁹ Foss, *Sardis*, 114 no. 16; Yegül, *Bath-Gymnasium Complex* (supra n. 7), 34, 171–72 no. 7. It has been suggested that the text was composed ca. A.D. 570 by the poet and historian Agathias in honor of his father; R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten 1. Die Westküste Kleinasiens von Knidos bis Ilion* (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1998) 402 no. 04/03/04. However, the name is also known locally from a prominent donor of the synagogue; see J.H. Kroll, "The Greek inscriptions of the Sardis synagogue," *HTR* 94 (2001) 5–127, at 40–41 no. 63.

⁵⁰ Coins and pottery date the Flavios Archelaos mosaic to the mid-fifth century. It is tempting to see an earlier drain complex excavated here, out of use by A.D. 400, as the source of Basiliskos's serpent fountain, or at least broadly related to renewal of the city's water supply at the time.

Some degree of official authorization is implicit in the closing of temples and the dismantling of abandoned public structures.⁵¹ The sanctuary of Artemis south of the city seems to have become a minor habitation center around this time. By the late fourth or early fifth century the temple no longer functioned, its cult having been abandoned or suppressed and its fabric neutralized by multiple incised crosses and other Christian graffiti.⁵² A small chapel known as Church M was built immediately next to the great structure ca. A.D. 400.⁵³ The temple at Wadi B had apparently collapsed by the early third century, leaving its superstructure and foundations to be thoroughly quarried and burnt for lime during late antiquity.⁵⁴ By the early fifth century parts of the Field 55 terrace were occupied by shops and houses, at least one with attractively painted walls.⁵⁵ Official concern would certainly have extended to the nearby stadium and theater, and these buildings may have continued in use a little longer. The considerable architectural debris encountered in the theater obscures the latest activity levels in the lower cavea and orchestra, but at the same time demonstrates that the structure was not entirely robbed for other purposes.⁵⁶

The construction of new temples in the form of churches is poorly attested at Sardis, and it remains uncertain whether deliberate steps were taken to Christianize its urban topography.⁵⁷ One would expect Sardis, an ancient see whose metropolitan status was recognized by the Council of Nicaea, to have had an episcopal basilica by the fourth century. Apart from the small Church M at the Artemis Temple, however, the only securely identified example is Church EA. This building was found along the road to Hypaepa, about 120 m outside the southwestern city wall in Sector PN. The peripheral location, on a low bluff overlooking the Pactolus river, apparently relates to earlier burials in the area, which the building may have served as either a martyrion or cemetery church. The 30 m-long plan includes a basilica with three aisles preceded by an atrium and eventually flanked by several chapels. The proposed foundation date in the later fourth century would make this one of the earliest known churches in Asia.⁵⁸ The nearby construction of a small bath and residence, beautifully furnished with mosaic floors, reflects the growth of this suburban quarter in the fifth century.⁵⁹

By contrast, urban churches at Sardis are nearly invisible, and this at a time when small towns and even villages across the empire were building multiple basilicas.⁶⁰ The most likely candidate for a church within the city is the unexcavated Building D, a large structure located near the center of the lower city (fig. 9). The unexcavated building is known almost entirely by its five massive piers,

⁵¹ J. Alchermes, "Spolia in Roman cities of the late empire: Legislative rationales and architectural reuse," *DOP* 48 (1994) 167–78; H.G. Saradi, *The Byzantine City in the Sixth Century. Literary Images and Historical Reality* (Athens 2006) 355–56.

⁵² For varied disposition of the cult images, see Hanfmann, *Sardis*, 193; *AJA* 104 (2000) 675–76. For Christian graffiti, see W.H. Buckler and D.M. Robinson, "Greek inscriptions from Sardes IV," *AJA* 18 (1914) 35–74, at 44 no. 12, fig. 5; idem, *Inscriptions*, 145–46 no. 184; compare mandates to purify pagan monuments by incising crosses on them (*Theodosian Code* 16.10, 25).

⁵³ For the date, Butler, *Sardis*, 113; Hanfmann, *Sardis*, 195.

⁵⁴ Ratté et al., "Temple" (supra n. 20), 67. Lime burning also took place on the terrace above the Wadi B temple, at Sector ByzFort, in the later sixth century; see *BASOR* Suppl. 25 (1988) 35–36.

⁵⁵ *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 28.2 (2006) 745, fig. 7; M. Rautman, "The aura of affluence: Domestic scenery in late

Roman Sardis," in *Love for Lydia*, 147–58, at 155, pl. 19.

⁵⁶ Much of the theater's quarrying is understood to have occurred in the early 20th century.

⁵⁷ See recently G. Brands and H.-G. Severin (eds.), *Die spätantike Stadt und ihre Christianisierung* (Wiesbaden 2003); Saradi, *Byzantine City* (supra n. 51), 385–439.

⁵⁸ For Church EA, see H. Buchwald, "Early Christian Basilica EA and Church E," in Hanfmann, *Sardis*, 196–204, and his forthcoming final report on these buildings.

⁵⁹ For the bath and residence at Sector PN, see *BASOR* 162 (1961) 24–29; *BASOR* 166 (1962) 15–19; *BASOR* 170 (1963) 18–23; *BASOR* 174 (1964) 20–24.

⁶⁰ A fragmentary cornice or lintel invoking the *episkopou theos* was recorded in the late 19th century; Buckler and Robinson, *Inscriptions*, 149 no. 190. The block's large size (at least 0.90 by 0.405 m) and lettering suggest it came from the cathedral, *episkopeion*, or other substantial building of the fifth or sixth century.

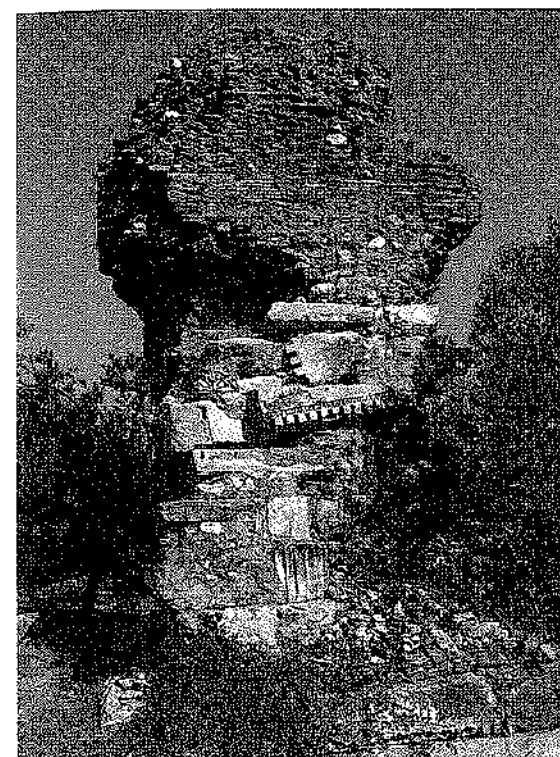


Fig. 9. Sardis, Building D, northwest pier, looking north.

which stand to a height of about 10 m. Two elliptical domes or domical vaults are thought to have spanned the 14 m interval between piers. A sixth-century construction date has been proposed on the basis of scale, vaulting forms, and the many architectural spoils built into its piers. An inscription naming the emperor Arcadius was found near one pier, which suggests that by this time at least one major foundation of the late fourth century had become available for reuse. Several of the pier blocks resemble Severan-period ornament seen in the Bath-Gymnasium Complex, whose Marble Court and palaestra were partially restored in the fifth century. The uneven assembly of large blocks contrasts with the careful selection and close fitting of spolia in other buildings, however, and makes possible a slightly later date as well.⁶¹

Viewed against this background, it is all the more striking that the most impressive known religious foundation of late Roman Sardis is a synagogue. This imposing structure consists of an 80 m-long hall with forecourt that was built into the south palaestra wing of the Bath-Gymnasium

Complex (fig. 10). For a diaspora synagogue the scale is without parallel and the orientation to the west is unusual. These features, like the resemblance to Christian basilicas, reflect the special circumstances of the site and the progressive adaptation of standing remains to new purposes. In its main phase the synagogue consisted of a hall over 18 m wide. At the west end was a broad apse with three-tiered semicircular *synthronon*. Three doorways joined the main hall with a peristyle court to the east. Six pairs of piers, carefully built of reused marble blocks, supported a pitched roof spanning the 12 m-wide nave, a clear span greater than some nearby streets.⁶² Liturgical furnishings included a monumental table assembled of sculptural spolia and two aedicular shrines, presumably for storing the Torah. Several carved and inscribed menorahs found nearby clearly establish its intended use.⁶³

Both the main hall and forecourt of the synagogue were paved with mosaics. The hall features 21 mosaic panels consisting mainly of geometric ornament, with the image of a kantharos amid

⁶¹ Compare the masonry piers of the second- to third-century Building C, discussed in Vann, *Unexcavated Buildings* (supra n. 18), 23–39. For Building D, see Hanfmann, *Sardis*, 196; H. Buchwald, "Western Asia Minor as a generator of architectural forms: Provincial back-wash or dynamic center of production?" *JÖB* 34 (1984) 199–234, at 209–12. For a recent structural assessment, see N.D. Karydis, *Early Byzantine Vaulted Construction in Churches of the Western Coastal Plains and River Valleys of Asia Minor* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Bath 2010).

⁶² The form and chronology of the synagogue are laid out by A.R. Seager, "The building history of the Sardis synagogue," *AJA* 76 (1972) 425–35; idem, "The building," in Hanfmann, *Sardis*, 168–78. For a recent reconstruction, see Greenewald et al., *City of Sardis* (supra n. 8), figs. 114–15 no. 40.

⁶³ Seager, "Building" (supra n. 62), 175–76; D.G. Mitten and A.F. Scorziello, "Reappropriating antiquity: Some spolia from the synagogue at Sardis," in *Love for Lydia*, 135–46; M. Rautman, "Two menorahs from the synagogue at Sardis," *Qadmoniyot* 43 (2010) 44–48 (in Hebrew).

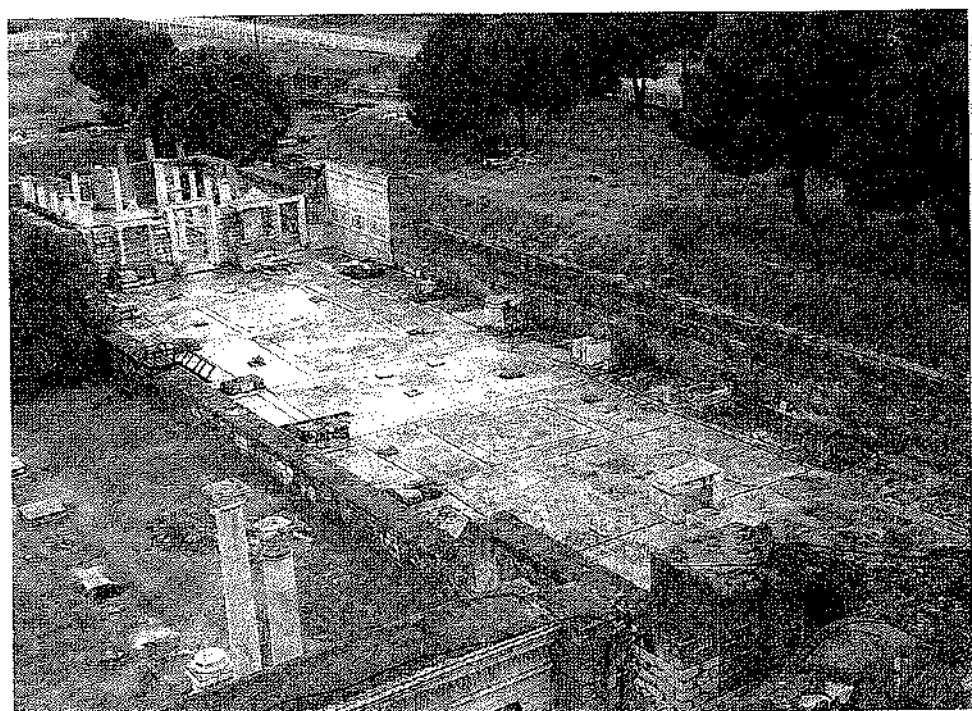


Fig. 10. Sardis, synagogue, looking southeast.

graceful vines covering the floor of the apse. Other panels included the names of individual donors, of which 11 have been reconstructed from the surviving fragments. The lower walls of the hall were decorated with a particularly elaborate program of polychrome opus sectile (*skoutlosis*), and apparently mosaics as well. A similar combination of floor mosaics and wall revetment appeared in the forecourt. Inscribed revetment plaques found throughout the building record at least 70 additional donations that were made over the course of several generations.⁶⁴

The synagogue must have been one of the most imposing monuments of Sardis and it is unsurprising that its history is complex. For much of late antiquity it would have been a scene of constant construction, with multiple phases attested epigraphically and archaeologically. The building that stands today may have been begun in the later fourth century, although how much of it was completed then is unclear. It seems reasonable that piecemeal decoration of the substantial hall alone, with an interior area of about 1,000 m², would have extended into the fifth century, and alterations and repairs continued into the 500s. The floor and roof of such a large timber-covered structure would have required regular maintenance. The need for repairs would have been acute in the forecourt, which saw heavy traffic around its central fountain.⁶⁵

The recent proposal to date the synagogue to the sixth century emphasizes these later interventions apart from their larger setting.⁶⁶ The numismatic argument for a later date rests on the

⁶⁴ L. Robert, "Inscriptions de la synagogue," in idem, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes* 1 (Paris 1964) 37–57; Kroll, "Greek inscriptions" (supra n. 49); Scheibelreiter, *Stifterinschriften* (supra n. 48), 38–52. For the context of collective donations, see J.-P. Caillet, "Les dédicaces privées de pavements de mosaïques à la fin de l'antiquité. Occident européen et monde grec: données socio-économiques," in X. Barral i Altet (ed.),

Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Âge 2. Commande et travail (Paris 1987) 15–36.

⁶⁵ For a recent assessment of the forecourt, see M. Rautman, "Daniel at Sardis," *BASOR* 358 (2010) 29–42.

⁶⁶ J. Magness, "The date of the Sardis synagogue in light of the numismatic evidence," *AJA* 109 (2005) 443–75.

discovery of several post-A.D. 400 coins in the eastern part of the main hall and forecourt, but in contexts more plausibly associated with alterations and repairs than with initial construction. The absence of fifth- and sixth-century coins from the building's foundations cannot be attributed to a subsequent withdrawal of currency, since coins of this date are commonly found at Sardis. The bedding of the south portico mosaics at the MMS/N plaza, only a few meters to the southeast, included an uninterrupted series of fourth- to sixth-century coins. A deposit of nearly 700 nummi found in the MMS street portico is only the largest of several excavated hoards of fifth century date.⁶⁷ Pottery and lamps recovered from below the floor of the main hall appear consistently early, in contrast to the distinctive fifth- and sixth-century forms found above the floor and elsewhere.⁶⁸ Floor mosaics with related decorative patterns and borders turn up in public and domestic contexts across the site, and attest the continuity of local traditions over the span of centuries. As an integral part of the city's architectural and social fabric, the synagogue shared the fortunes of the urban quarter of which it formed an important part.

The synagogue forecourt had two principal entrances: one opening off a colonnade that continued north to the main palaestra gate, and a smaller one from the Marble Road to the south. These and other thoroughfares from east and south met in the MMS/N plaza. This marble-paved expanse clearly played a prominent role in the life of the city. A double portico on large columns dominated the south side. The inner walkway was covered by a brick vault and paved by successive mosaic floors, one installed by Flavios Archelaos in the mid-fifth century and the second by another patron in the later sixth century. Here also rectangular panels of varying sizes suggest the contributions of multiple sponsors. The involvement of the diocesan *vicarius* attests the importance of the plaza, and of the residential quarter that lay behind it.⁶⁹

Excavation at Sectors MMS and MMS/S has traced the long-term development of this neighborhood. For centuries the area was dominated by the elongated mound of the archaic fortification wall, whose buried remains extended the western ridge of the acropolis. Domestic remains of late Hellenistic and early Roman date have been located along the mound's top and east side, while the flat terrain farther west preserves scattered burials of about the same time. Construction of the new city wall made the area ripe for development, and this began ca. A.D. 400 by cutting the MMS street through the area. Municipal approval surely would have been needed for expropriation and development. At a time when urban patronage was increasingly dominated by government officials, the possibility that work was privately funded makes the undertaking all the more impressive.

Once street lines had been established, existing foundations and standing walls offered local property owners a starting point for developing new residences (fig. 11). The process of building and remodeling went on for more than a century. No less than the early houses described by Vitruvius, these late Roman structures expressed the social standing and interests of their occupants. Common concerns included providing courts or open spaces for light and air, maintaining a reliable water supply for personal use and public display, arranging adequate drainage for rain and wastewater, and shaping special rooms for reception and dining. Whatever their specific identity, the owners clearly aspired to the upper levels of local society.

⁶⁷ B. Burrell, "A hoard of minimi from Sardis and the currency of the fifth century C.E.," *RN* 163 (2007) 235–82; for the context, ead., "Small bronze hoards at late fifth century C.E. Sardis," in *Love for Lydia*, 159–69. For a hoard of 71 bronze coins, mostly of the late fifth century and concluding with nine issues of Zeno (A.D. 476–491), see *AASOR* 52 (1994) 24, fig. 26.

⁶⁸ M.L. Rautman, "Two late Roman wells at Sardis," *AASOR* 53 (1995) 37–84.

⁶⁹ *AASOR* 52 (1994) 3–7; Feissel, "Vicaires et proconsuls" (supra n. 47), 97; Scheibelreiter, *Stifterinschriften* (supra n. 48), 33–35 no. 5.

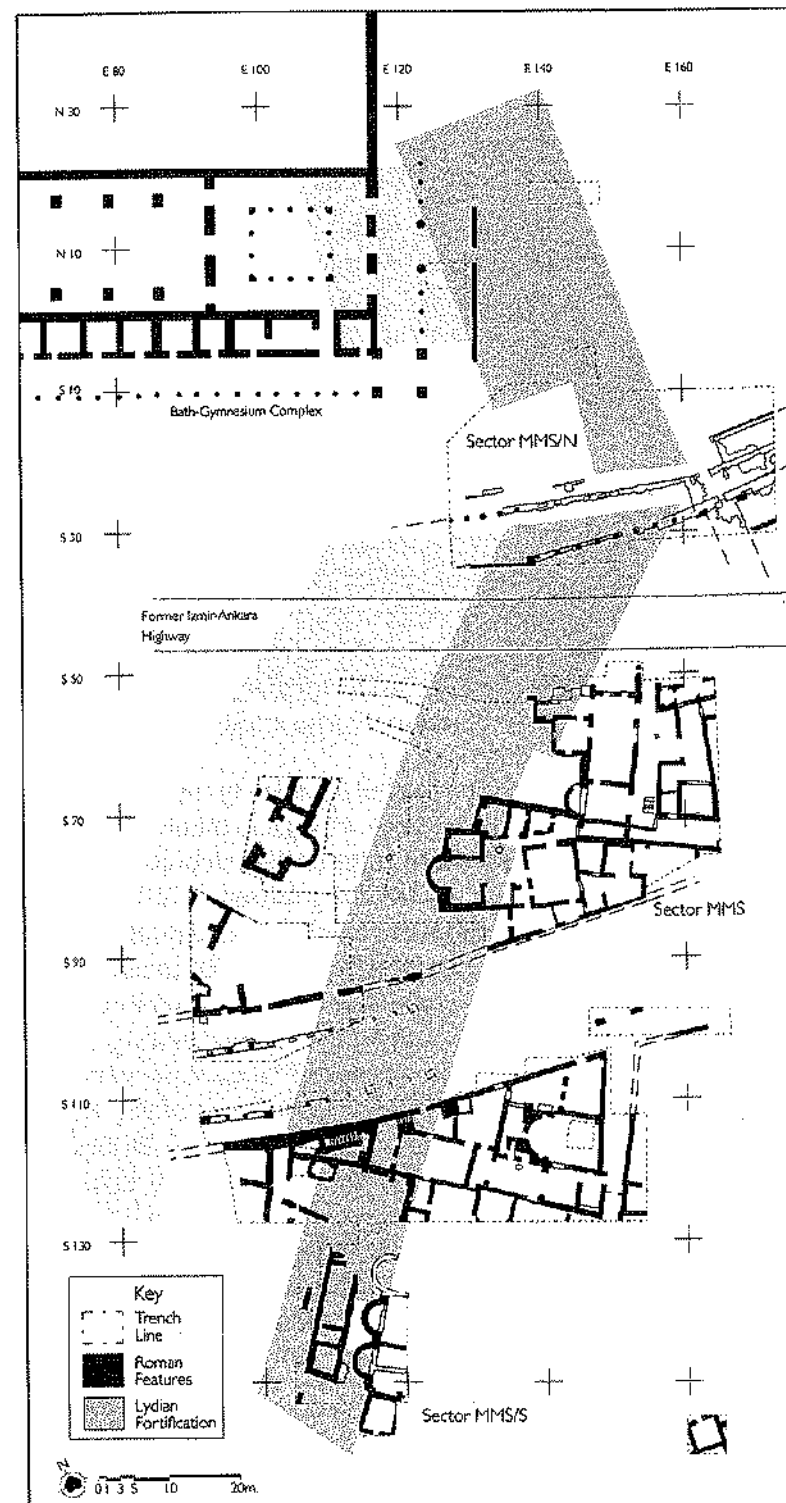


Fig. 11. Sardis, plan of Lydian fortification and late Roman features at Sectors MMS/N, MMS, and MMS/S.

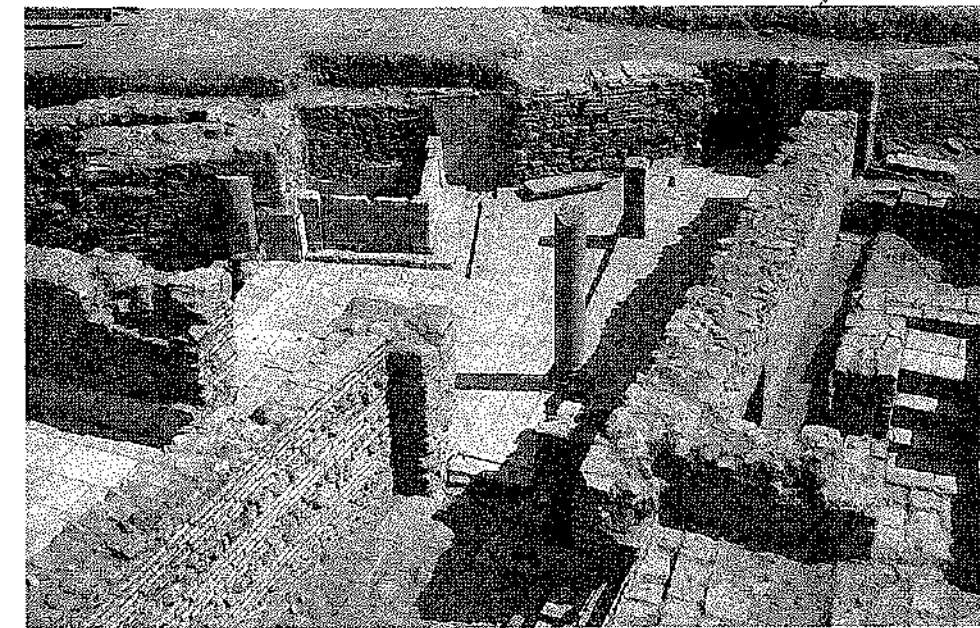


Fig. 12. Sardis, west part of late Roman house at Sector MMS/S, looking north.

The area between the MMS/N plaza and MMS street was filled with interconnected rooms of different sizes. The irregular plans seen at Sector MMS result from the step-by-step combination of at least four living units into a single sprawling residence by around A.D. 500.⁷⁰ The more southerly part clearly preserves the lines of a fourth-century predecessor, which arranged small rooms around three or four sides of a peristyle court. After the street was laid out, this house was expanded by adding an apse to one of these rooms, presumably for dining, and building another reception space nearby. By contrast, the more northerly rooms looked toward the nearby plaza and welcomed visitors with greater ceremony. About 10 m behind the plaza's south portico a marble-paved corridor led to a small reception space resembling a daytime office. From here a short corridor reached an apsidal room that could have served equally for reception and dining. The room's well-preserved walls carried a complex program of painted architecture and *skoutlosis*, which reflects the widespread taste for marble decoration and brings the language of public assembly into the heart of the domus.⁷¹ At its greatest extent the complex comprised more than 30 separate spaces, including at least three open courts, six water basins or tanks, and two or more latrines.

A similar picture appears across the street to the south. An earlier peristyle house at Sector MMS/S was partially razed by street construction, but then reorganized as a grand fifth-century residence with more than a dozen rooms on three levels (fig. 12). The main entrances lay behind the street's south portico. One of these led to a broad vestibule that preceded an elaborately decorated apsidal hall. The room originally was paved in marble and had painted walls that included the implicitly Christian invocation, "hagios o theos."⁷² The floor of the apse was slightly raised and surfaced with

⁷⁰ For an overview, see M.L. Rautman, "A late Roman townhouse at Sardis," in Schwertheim (ed.), *Forschungen in Lydien* (supra n. 15), 49–66.

⁷¹ Rautman, "Aura" (supra n. 55), 147–53, pls. 15–17; compare L. Özgenel, "Public use and privacy in late antique

houses in Asia Minor: The architecture of spatial control," in L. Lavan, L. Özgenel, and A. Sarantis (eds.), *Housing in Late Antiquity. From Palaces to Shops*, *Late Antique Archaeology* 3.2 (Leiden 2007) 239–81.

⁷² *AJA* 104 (2000) 650, fig. 6. For similar formulae in

mosaic. Most strikingly, the apse wall and semidome were covered with painted stucco with incised geometric patterns.⁷³ Such measures effectively underscored the status of the owner, who could enter the apse from a back room when appearing before assembled guests. The discovery here of 21 stamped glass weights suggests that this was the home of a well-to-do businessman, or perhaps a municipal official of the early seventh century. Farther west, another entrance from the street opened onto the surviving part of the earlier peristyle court. The raised east and south porticos were supported by columns and piers, and a large water basin stood in the northwest corner. Surviving wall paintings include the figure of a waiting servant, which echoes the theme of expectant reception. Opening off the court was a long room with marble-paved floor, a raised platform paved in opus sectile and tiles, and painted incrustation-style walls. A marble sigma table, broken in places but complete, makes clear that the room was used for dining as late as the early seventh century. Smaller service spaces were independently accessible from street and alley.⁷⁴

These several houses, and others less extensively excavated, formed part of a relatively homogeneous and certainly prosperous quarter whose development reflects fundamental changes in the late antique city. All were reorganized or built anew in the first half of the fifth century along the lines of domestic fashion seen elsewhere in the Roman east. Open courts, colonnades, and water basins were key themes of household display. Rooms for reception, especially the newly popular apsidal halls, were emphasized by marble or mosaic floors and walls covered with ornate decoration, both real and illusory. Maintaining these scenes of daily elegance required constant renovation and updating, which can be traced in changing floor levels, circulation patterns, and decorative programs. Associated finds reflect the rising level of domestic consumption and specialized use of individual rooms. Several of these houses expanded over time as their owners annexed adjacent properties, and reached their greatest extent in the early sixth century.

The level of residential comfort noted at Sectors MMS and MMS/S may so far be exceptional for Sardis, but similar features appear elsewhere at the site. The so-called House of Bronzes in Sector HoB, discovered during the first season of excavation, occupies a flat, largely undeveloped area south of the Bath-Gymnasium Complex, about 100 m to the west. Contending with earlier burials and other features, the owner nevertheless was able to create two large rooms for reception or other special purposes in the fourth to sixth centuries.⁷⁵ Comparable if less well understood houses have been found on the higher parts of the site as well. Several unexplored multilevel units occupy the artificial terrace that overlooks the HoB area.⁷⁶ A fifth-century house found at Sector ByzFort had multiple rooms featuring mosaics, marble revetment, wall paintings, and a fine view of the Hermus valley.⁷⁷ At a slightly lower level, several houses were established in the fourth to fifth centuries on the Field 55 terrace, within sight of the Wadi B temple foundations. At least one of these buildings included a large rectangular room, carefully paved with tiles and decorated with incrustation-style paintings similar those at Sector MMS.⁷⁸

domestic contexts, see C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity: The Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions*, revised second online edition (2004) <<http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/alaz004>>, ISBN 1 897747 17 9, VI.52, no. 134.

⁷³ Rautman, "Aura" (supra n. 55), 156, fig. 8.

⁷⁴ *AJA* 104 (2000) 645–55. The weights are discussed by M.M. Fulghum and F. Heintz, "A hoard of early Byzantine glass weights from Sardis," *AJN* 2nd Ser. 10 (1998) 105–20.

⁷⁵ *BASOR* 154 (1959) 22–27; *BASOR* 157 (1960) 22–28;

BASOR 170 (1963) 13; *BASOR* 249 (1983) 18, fig. 20. For the social standing of its occupants, see S. Ellis, "Middle class houses in late antiquity," in W. Bowden, A. Gutteridge, and C. Machado (eds.), *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity*, *Late Antique Archaeology* 3.1 (Leiden 2006) 413–37, at 422.

⁷⁶ *BASOR* 177 (1965) 14–17.

⁷⁷ *BASOR* Suppl. 25 (1988) 36, fig. 22.

⁷⁸ *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 28.2 (2006) 745, fig. 7; Rautman, "Aura" (supra n. 55), 155, pl. 19.

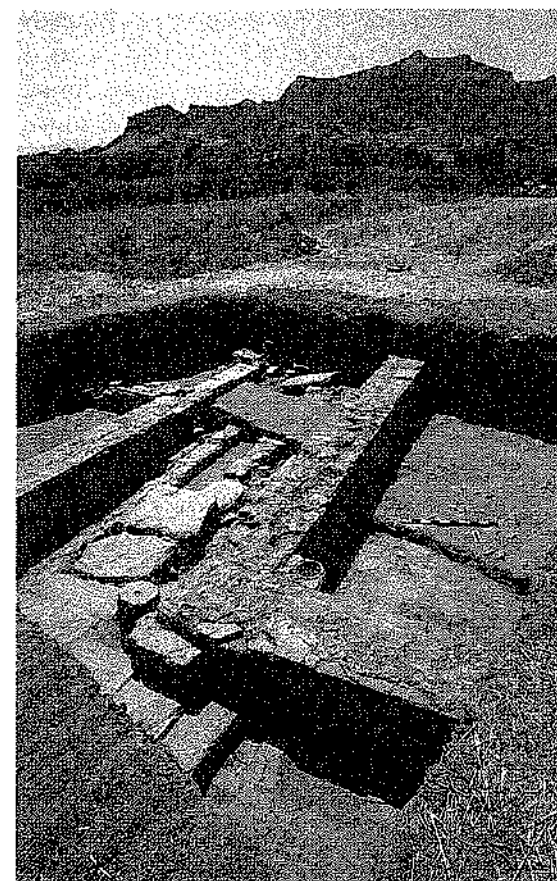


Fig. 13. Sardis, late Roman street and flanking buildings at Sector MD1/N, looking southeast.

Less ambitious residential units found across the site may better reflect how most people lived. Traces of hillside habitation on the east side of Sector ByzFort, overlooking Field 55, include small buildings flanking a 5 m-wide contour road. These structures were solidly built on multiple levels, variously paved, modestly furnished, and occupied mainly in the fifth century. One space was equipped with two large water tanks that seem better suited to light industry than routine household needs.⁷⁹ Similar structures have been found on the lower plain. A partially excavated building at Sector MD2 includes at least four rooms, one furnished with a large cement-lined vat, which were occupied in the fifth and sixth centuries. The nearby Sector MD1/N includes a long rectangular structure with a cellar-like space appropriate for commercial storage. Common to both buildings is the combination of small, usually tiled rooms and more utilitarian spaces, together with signs of household production or commerce.⁸⁰ This broad sampling of the urban site says little about the overall density of habitation, however. Some sectors are filled with small structures crowded along narrow alleys or roads (fig. 13). Other areas, particularly near lower sections of the city wall, served mainly as neighborhood dumps. Modest, multifunctional

structures of the fifth and sixth centuries have been found outside the city as well, along the banks of the Pactolus, around the Artemis Temple, and underneath the present excavation compound.⁸¹

The so-called Byzantine Shops preserve the most distinctly urban residential experience known so far at Sardis.⁸² This long row of unremarkable spaces lies along the south side of the Bath-Gymnasium Complex and synagogue, behind the Marble Road's north portico (see fig. 7). Whatever its earlier history, the area took its present form ca. A.D. 400. The prominent street-side location and uniform construction suggest that portico and shops were built as a coordinated undertaking, perhaps initiated by municipal authorities but modified by individual leaseholders or owners to suit specific needs.⁸³

⁷⁹ *AASOR* 52 (1994) 23–24.

⁸⁰ *AJA* 104 (2000) 669–71.

⁸¹ Hanfmann and Waldbaum, *Survey*, 57–62; *BASOR* 249 (1983) 25–26.

⁸² Crawford, *Byzantine Shops* (supra n. 7). The organization of units has been discussed recently by A. Harris, "Shops, retailing and the local economy in the early Byzantine world: The example of Sardis," in K. Dark (ed.), *Secular Buildings and the Archaeology of Everyday Life in*

the Byzantine Empire (Oxford 2004) 82–122; K.E. Hammer and M. Murray, "Acquaintances, supporters, and competitors. Evidence of inter-connectedness and rivalry among the religious groups in Sardis," in Ascough (ed.), *Religious Rivalries* (supra n. 20), 175–94; see also Ellis, "Middle class houses" (supra n. 75), 422–23.

⁸³ For contemporary building legislation see Brands and Severin (eds.), *Spätantike Stadt* (supra n. 57); Saradi, *Byzantine City* (supra n. 51).

The design lent itself to easy alteration: a massive shared back wall with drain and a series of sturdy weight-bearing piers, 5 m to the south, between which slender partitions could be added to shape multiple rooms with doors, windows, and niches. The colonnade's 3 m height allowed space for an upper loft that could be used for sleeping quarters or storage, while street-side rooms were well suited for retail and household industry.

The arrangements of private entrepreneurs must have been in constant, asynchronous flux, which makes it difficult to track changes over time. In its excavated state, the quarter essentially preserves a moment in the early seventh century when fire swept through the crowded, if only partially occupied buildings. At this time there were about 20 independent units, each comprising one to three rooms at street level and perhaps as much floor space above. The presence of service counters, benches, kitchen wares, and amphorae indicates that three of these units likely served for food preparation or service. Two or three others may have been used for dyeing cloth or assembling scraps of glass, metal, and other materials for reuse.⁸⁴ Apart from these specialized assemblages, most artifacts recovered from the sector resemble the coins, household wares, tools, and personal effects found in other domestic contexts. Stone mortars, shallow basins, storage vessels, makeshift latrines, hearths, and ovens are equally present in the nearby HoB and MMS houses. These similarities point to a broad convergence of habitation and production at the household level in the late sixth and early seventh centuries.

Such glimpses of Sardis, assembled over the course of 50 years of excavation and study, make clear that the city's appearance changed in important ways during late antiquity. Some of its most prominent early monuments, like the Wadi B temple, stadium, and theater, stood on the terraced slopes of the acropolis. Whether these buildings were ever completed and how long they were maintained are open questions, but before the end of the fourth century the temple was gone and its abandoned precinct had been given over to housing. The stadium and theater, like places of mass entertainment elsewhere, were expensive to maintain and may not have functioned much later. Ideological motives may have contributed to the area's shift from civic showcase to private habitation, but if so, only indirectly. The landmark temple in Wadi B had apparently been destroyed much earlier by earthquake, possibly while the local bishop Melito was still alive. Other centers of traditional cult seem to have been similarly afflicted by natural catastrophe or passive neglect, prompting futile efforts at restoration in the mid-fourth century.⁸⁵ There is little sign of violent religious strife at Sardis in the days of the sophist Chrysanthios, teacher of the emperor Julian and high priest of Lydia, and his pupil Eunapios.⁸⁶ The traditional flowers, garlands, and peacocks found in painted *hypogaea* of the later fourth century appear equally in Christian and nonspecific tombs of the period

⁸⁴ For metals recycling and manufacture, see E. Giannichedda, "Metal production in late antiquity: From continuity of knowledge to changes in consumption," in L. Lavan, E. Zanini, and A. Sarantis (eds.), *Technology in Transition: A.D. 300–650*, *Late Antique Archaeology* 4 (Leiden 2006) 187–209, at 196.

⁸⁵ Traditional religion apparently fared better in rural Lydia; see Foss, *Sardis*, 28–29, 155 n. 73; Mitchell, *Anatolia*, vol. 2 (supra n. 30), 118–19; G. Petzl, "Ländliche Religiosität in Lydien," in Schwertheim (ed.), *Forschungen in Lydien* (supra n. 15), 37–48, at 46–48; M. Riel, "Society and economy of rural sanctuaries in Roman Lydia and Phrygia," *EpigAnat* 35 (2003) 7–101.

⁸⁶ The historical background is summarized by Foss, *Sardis*, 22–34.

⁸⁷ For the Christian "Painted Tomb," see Butler, *Sardis*, 174, 181–83, pls. IV–V. The tomb of Flavios Chrysanthios (Tomb 76.1) includes the common Christian formula "kyrie boethel"; *BASOR* 229 (1978) 61–64; *BASOR* 233 (1979) 4–8. For two nearby *hypogaea* (Tombs 79.2, 79.3) without Christian texts, see *BASOR* 249 (1983) 22–25. Two more vaulted tombs (Tombs 07.2, 07.3) with similar paintings have recently been identified closer to the city wall; see *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 30.4 (2008) 192–93, figs. 3–5. For a comprehensive survey of the painted tombs, see now V. Rousseau, *Late Roman Wall Painting at Sardis* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison 2010).



Fig. 14. Sardis, wall painting in Tomb 07.3.

(fig. 14).⁸⁷ Epigraphic and archaeological evidence for the local Jewish community, together with the monumental synagogue, attests the city's religious pluralism. More pragmatic reasons for relocating public life onto the urban plain were the area's seismic instability, the fortification of the lower city, and the changing priorities of civic leaders.⁸⁸

Monumentalized urban passages, refurbished public buildings, and expanded houses of local residents are unmistakable signs that Sardis saw some of its most prosperous years in late antiquity. The grandiose scale of official and private patronage appears in the elaboration of colonnaded streets and plazas, which were gaining importance as scenes of commercial as well as ceremonial life. The costly but selective maintenance of public buildings could be justified by assigning them new political roles, as may have been the case with the *boule* and *gerousia* meeting in the Marble Court of the Bath-Gymnasium.⁸⁹ The bustle of construction echoed in prolonged work at the synagogue and constant remodeling of the MMS houses and the Byzantine Shops. Inescapable in western Sardis but apparent across the site, this restless activity provides vivid background for the well-known builders' inscription that was set up in A.D. 459 to ensure the timely completion of contracted projects.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Olson, "Landslides" (supra n. 9); for the "early Byzantine tectonic paroxysm," see S. Stiros, "The AD 365 Crete earthquake and possible seismic clustering during the fourth and sixth centuries A.D. in the eastern Mediterranean: A review of historical and archaeological data," *Journal of Structural Geology* 23 (2001) 545–602. Compare the effects of third- and fourth-century earthquakes in the region noted by Ladstätter and Pülz, "Ephesus" (supra n. 29). For urban priorities in late antiquity, see J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (Oxford 2001); J.-M. Spieser, *Urban and Religious Spaces in Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium* (Aldershot 2001); Saradi, *Byzantine City* (supra n. 51).

⁸⁹ For sixth-century graffiti from the Marble Court, see Yegül, *Bath-Gymnasium Complex* (supra n. 7), 49, fig. 124. The palaestra of the theater gymnasium at Ephesus may also have seen political activities about this time; see P. Scherrer and E. Trinkle, *Die Tetragonos Agora in Ephesos. Grabungsergebnisse von archaischer bis in byzantinische Zeit—Ein Überblick. Befunde und Funde klassischer Zeit, Forschungen in Ephesos XIII* 2 (Vienna 2006) 11.

⁹⁰ For the text, see Buckler and Robinson, *Inscriptions*, 40–43 no. 18; M. Di Branco, "Lavoro e conflittualità in una città tardoantica. Una rilettura dell'epigrafe di Sardi CIG 3467," *Antiquité tardive* 8 (2000) 181–208. The text nostal-

Imperial interest tangibly benefited the city as an official base for administration and arms-making, but more importantly by stimulating traffic to and from this sub-regional economic hub.⁹¹ Like other nearby cities, Sardis was celebrated by contemporary writers for its fine textiles, and perhaps less credibly for its wines. Local workshops have been proposed for the manufacture of bronze vessels, iron tools, glass wares and windowpanes, polychrome jewelry, and carved bone implements.⁹² A long ceramic tradition continued in the massive output of bricks, roof tiles, and vessels for table use, transport, and storage. At the same time, the local ceramic environment illustrates the site's distance from the late empire's economic mainstream. The limited nature of interregional exchange appears in the scarcity of imported amphorae compared with local vessels, mainly single-handled transport jars, which are locally ubiquitous but infrequently found elsewhere. On the level of fine wares, the most widely distributed varieties of African Red Slip and Phocian Red Slip pottery appear in fifth- to sixth-century levels, along with imitations made of local clays. Specialized imported objects like lamps, *ampullae*, and *unguentaria* may also have inspired local versions that in some cases outlived their sources of inspiration.⁹³

The prosperity Sardis enjoyed in the later fourth to sixth centuries may be the result of local circumstances, but the far-reaching changes it saw around the turn of the seventh century are those seen among its neighbors as well. Many public spaces were poorly maintained if not abandoned altogether; houses were subdivided and put to new purposes; imported pottery decreased in variety and quantity; and the supply of currency dwindled.⁹⁴ These phenomena are plainly evident in western Sardis, where coins and pottery preserve a continuous occupation sequence down to the early 600s. The demise of the Byzantine Shops is especially stark: all inhabited units were hastily evacuated before fire swept through the quarter, an event that preserved their diverse contents along with a numismatic break at A.D. 616. Small clusters of coins of Constans II (A.D. 641–655) have been found in the area, mainly in the southern rooms of the Bath-Gymnasium Complex and scattered about the nearby Marble Road, but their scarcity elsewhere speaks to wider dislocations in local routines.⁹⁵ Clearly by the mid-seventh century Sardis had become a very different place.

Coming to terms with such signs of urban transformation is one of the central challenges posed by late antiquity.⁹⁶ At Sardis, as at many Mediterranean sites, the decision of early excavators to focus on

gically invokes the memory of the "most illustrious twice neokoros metropolis of the Sardians"; see Burrell, *Neokoroi* (supra n. 20), 113.

⁹¹ For highways and milestones attesting late third- and fourth-century repairs, see Buckler and Robinson, *Inscriptions*, 90 no. 84; Foss, *Sardis*, 6–7, 150–51 nn. 13, 18; D.H. French, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*, Fasc. 2, *An Interim Catalogue of Milestones*, Par. 1, *British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monograph 9* (Oxford 1988) 250–59; Petzl, *Tituli Lydiae* (supra n. 48), 111–13 nos. 1536–37.

⁹² For evidence of glassmaking, see von Saldern, *Ancient and Byzantine Glass* (supra n. 7), 1–2; for metalworking, M. Goodway and P. Vandiver, in Crawford, *Byzantine Shops* (supra n. 7), 129–34; Waldbaum, *Metalwork* (supra n. 7), 6–9; for gem-cutting, *BASOR* 249 (1983) 28–29. The remains of bone-cutting on a large scale were found in fifth-century levels near the Wadi B temple.

⁹³ Rautman, "Two late Roman wells" (supra n. 68), 79–81;

idem, "From mainstream to margin among the late Roman amphorae of Sardis," in P. Monsieure and J. Poblome (eds.), *From Amphorae to Modelling the Late Roman Economy* (forthcoming).

⁹⁴ The evidence is highly varied with pockets of private stability appearing amid larger areas of public neglect. For ambiguities in perceiving the advent of regional "decline," see M. Whittow, "Recent research on the late-antique city in Asia Minor: The second half of the 6th century revisited," in Lavan (ed.), *Recent Research* (supra n. 31), 137–53, at 140–49.

⁹⁵ Bates, *Byzantine Coins* (supra n. 7), 1–3; Crawford, *Byzantine Shops* (supra n. 7), 2–3.

⁹⁶ For a recent review of perspectives on change, see J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, "Transformation and decline: Are the two really incompatible?" in J.-U. Krause and C. Witschel (eds.), *Die Stadt in der Spätantike—Niedergang oder Wandel?*, *Historia Einzelschriften* 190 (Stuttgart 2006) 463–83.

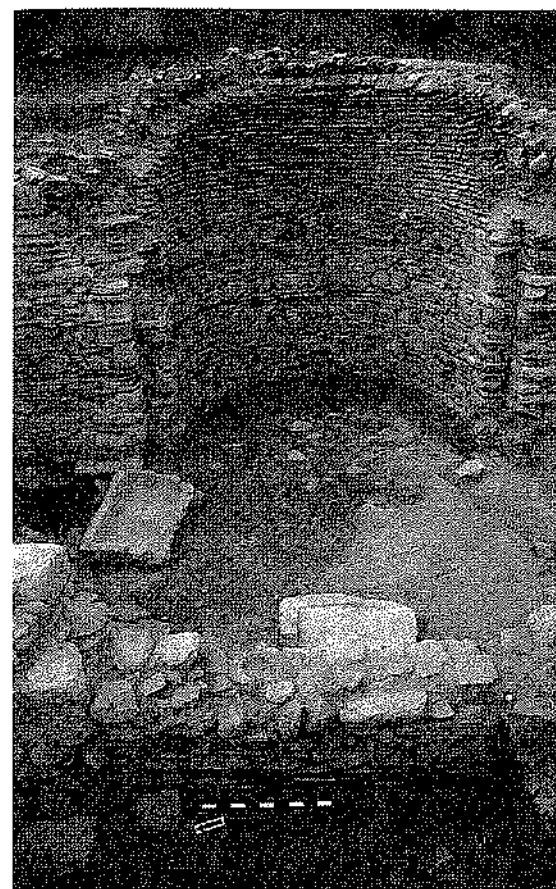


Fig. 15. Sardis, Sector MMS, apsidal structure with secondary installations, looking east.

while others were partitioned for commercial use.⁹⁸ Private houses underwent complex changes that saw individual spaces selectively maintained, subdivided, stripped, and put to new purposes. Hearths, ovens, vats, drains, and latrines were cut through or set atop marble or mosaic floors, sometimes in grand apsidal rooms (fig. 15).⁹⁹ Spaces once intended for ceremony and display were adapted as practical units for generating wealth, primarily at the level of households and other small

⁹⁷ C. Foss, "The Persians in Asia Minor and the end of antiquity," *EHR* 90 (1975) 721–43; idem, *Sardis*, 53–55. For reservations, see J. Russell, "The Persian invasions of Syria/Palestine and Asia Minor in the reign of Heraclius: Archaeological, numismatic and epigraphic evidence," in E. Kountoura-Galake (ed.), *The Dark Centuries of Byzantium (7th–9th c.)* (Athens 2001) 47–71. In the same sense that "late antiquity" came of age amid Cold War cultural studies, many of its precepts invite reevaluation through the multipolar lens of a globalized 21st century; compare B. Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization* (Oxford 2005) 176–83.

⁹⁸ The upper portico mosaic of the MMS/N plaza dates to

two or three major buildings emphasized those aspects of Roman settled life that were highly visible, but at the same time socially complex and politically precarious. The state of pottery studies in the 1960s, when large-scale excavation was underway, provided little framework for addressing questions of production, development, exchange, and use; as a result, coins had to serve as the main chronological guideposts, despite uncertainties about their minting and distribution. For these reasons, the destruction and abandonment of the Byzantine Shops ca. A.D. 616 suggested an irresistible link with the great historical narrative of that decade: the Sasanian incursions in Asia Minor and the heroic resistance of Heraclius. The appealing clarity of this story, with wealthy Sardis falling to an otherwise forgotten attack that year, is apparent from its widespread acceptance.⁹⁷

Recent work validates the broad outlines of this view while introducing some refinements. The city's increasing isolation during a tumultuous period is confirmed by the scarcity of imported pottery and seventh-century coins, and issues of Heraclius's later reign continue to be rare. Maintenance of public spaces and monuments appears inconsistent, with some street-side porticoes resurfaced with mosaics

the mid- or late sixth century; *AASOR* 53 (1995) 5–6; Scheibelreiter, *Stifterinschriften* (supra n. 48), 35–36 no. 6. Portico encroachment is known at the MMS street, the Marble Road, and most clearly the colonnade in front of the synagogue; see *BASOR* 174 (1964) 46–47; Crawford, *Byzantine Shops* (supra n. 7), 7, figs. 126, 129; *BASOR* Suppl. 25 (1988) 20.

⁹⁹ *BASOR* Suppl. 25 (1988) 58–61; *AASOR* 51 (1993) 11; *AASOR* 53 (1995) 8–10; *AJA* 102 (1998) 481; *AJA* 104 (2000) 653–54. Such phenomena broadly correspond with the demise of the curial class, which saw urban elites move to rural estates, if not the imperial capital itself, and leave their townhouses empty or in the hands of urban workers. For a recent review see Saradi, *Byzantine City* (supra n. 51), 151–63.

social units.¹⁰⁰ Significant parts of the site seem to have been unoccupied by the later sixth century, while others were accumulating debris from unidentified sources. Future excavation may locate areas that survived or even flourished through the seventh century, perhaps as clustered dwellings within a substantially ruralized setting. Byzantine Sardis remained an administrative center and metropolitan capital, but by the eighth century these functions may not have extended far beyond the walled acropolis, which had been laboriously fortified with architectural spoils brought from the city below.¹⁰¹ Ongoing survey of the Sardis environs aims to clarify the process of urban change by identifying patterns of consolidation, continuity, or expansion in rural land use and settlement.¹⁰²

Every archaeological site has a story to tell, a story that is shaped by research design, methods, and happenstance. The last 50 years of exploration at Sardis have sketched the outlines of a great Roman city that was the administrative, economic, and cultural focus of an inland province. Imperial action benefited its development at two critical junctures: in the early first century A.D. when Tiberius acted to rebuild the polis, and in the late third century when Diocletian decided its political rank. The results of this external involvement can be seen everywhere, but it is the archaeological focus, largely fortuitous, on western Sardis that has brought particular attention to late antiquity and the expansion of one part of the city. Recent work suggests that this area may not be representative of the entire site, but benefited from its proximity to the Bath-Gymnasium Complex and the highway leading west. Construction of urban fortifications in the late third and early fourth century presented local elites and government officials with new opportunities for ceremonial, commercial, and residential development, which took the form of public buildings, colonnaded streets, and houses of pretense that reinforced their standing in late classical society. In the sixth century the city's increasing isolation from the political and economic mainstream, brought about by the centralization of government and accelerated by demographic, economic, environmental, and military crises, left residents to reassess traditional life-ways and their own place in a post-Roman world. The fundamental reasons for the demise of the classical city lay beyond the site and even its territory, in its changing relation with imperial power, and with other points in the urban heartland of Asia Minor.

2

Sculpture and the Rhetorical Imagination in Late Antique Constantinople

Sarah Bassett

A visitor to Constantinople in the middle years of the fifth century would have found a city rich in sculpture, ancient and modern. Amassed almost completely in the century since Byzantium's re-foundation as New Rome in A.D. 324, this monumental urban display included antiquities of pre-fourth-century manufacture which had been gathered from the cities and sanctuaries of the Graeco-Roman world first at the behest of Constantine and his cohort and then at the direction of Theodosius I and the members of his dynasty, as well as works of contemporary manufacture: images of emperors, their wives, family members, and high ranking imperial officials. This varied sculptured array presented the fifth-century viewer with a range of images and with them a vast catalogue of subjects and styles; antiquities such as a fourth-century B.C. statue of Herakles by Lysippos shared the same urban stage as late fourth-century A.D. representations of Roman officials, while mythological figures stood cheek by jowl with images of a more historical bent, works of such venerable antiquity as the Serpent Column of the Plataean Tripod, the great obelisk from the temple of Amon at Thebes in Egypt, or more recent fabrications such as the obelisk's own supporting base showing members of the Theodosian house in attendance at the circus.¹

This great panoply of sculpture was in many respects characteristic of all late Roman cities, centers such as Rome, Ephesus, and Alexandria that had built their sculptured collections up over time.² That this variety was replicated in Constantinople, a city brought to life as a new capital of the Roman world merely a century before, suggests, however, that something deliberate was afoot in the creation of an urban aesthetic that was itself part of a larger project of urban and, ultimately, imperial

¹ The following abbreviations of frequently cited sources are used:

Bassett, *Urban Image* = S. Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge 2004).

Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal* = F.A. Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike* (Mainz 1996).

Firath, *Sculpture byzantine* = N. Firath, *La sculpture byzantine figurée au Musée archéologique d'Istanbul* (Paris 1990).

Par. = A. Cameron and J. Herrin (eds.), *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* (Leiden 1984).

Rabe = H. Rabe (ed.), *Hermogenes opera edidit, Rhetores Graeci* 6 (Leipzig 1913).

Stichel, *Kaiserstatue* = R.H.W. Stichel, *Die römische Kaiserstatue am Ausgang der Antike* (Rome 1982).

Wooten = C.W. Wooten, *Hermogenes on Types of Style* (Chapel Hill 1967).

Firath, *Sculpture byzantine*, 1–13 documents the surviving

examples of Constantinopolitan honorific statuary. See Stichel, *Kaiserstatue*, 76, 84–87, 90, 94–115 for late fourth- and fifth-century examples. For general discussion of Constantinopolitan public spaces and their sculptured displays, see Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*, 143–86. On ancient statuary see Bassett, *Urban Image*.

² On sculptured display in general, see G.M.A. Hanfmann, *From Croesus to Constantine. The Cities of Western Asia Minor and their Arts in Greek and Roman Times* (Ann Arbor 1975); C.C. Vermuele III, *Greek Sculpture and Roman Taste* (Ann Arbor 1977) 87–101; and, more recently, the collected essays in F.A. Bauer and C. Witschel (eds.), *Statuen in der Spätantike* (Wiesbaden 2007). On Rome and Ephesus in particular, see Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*, 3–141 (Rome) and 269–305 (Ephesus). For Alexandria see R.S. Bagnall, "Archaeological work on Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, 1995–2000," *AJA* 105 (2001) 227–43, at 229–30; and J.-Y. Empereur, *La gloire d'Alexandrie* (Paris 1998).

¹⁰⁰ E. Zanini, "Artisans and traders in the early Byzantine city: Exploring the limits of archaeological evidence," in Bowden, Gutteridge, and Machado (eds.), *Social and Political Life* (supra n. 75), 373–411, at 398–403.

¹⁰¹ For the acropolis, apparently unoccupied through most of late antiquity, see *BASOR* 162 (1961) 33–34; *BASOR* 166 (1962) 37–39; *BASOR* 170 (1963) 32. Inscriptions built into the walls range in date from Claudius to the time of Justinian; see Buckler and Robinson, *Inscriptions*, 29 no. 10, 43 no. 19; Foss, *Sardis*, 57–60. The careful installation of many

inscribed blocks suggests a lingering interest in displaying the city's past.

¹⁰² Intensive long-term survey in the vicinity of Sardis and Bin Tepe is now being extended by systematic regional reconnaissance; see C.H. Roosevelt and C. Luke, "Central Lydia Archaeological Survey," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 24.2 (2007) 135–54; *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 25.3 (2008) 305–26; *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 26.2 (2009) 433–50; Roosevelt, *Archaeology of Lydia* (supra n. 10).

6

The Riddle of the Market Gate: Miletus and the Character and Date of Earlier Byzantine Fortifications in Anatolia

Philipp Niewöhner

The riddle of the Market Gate in Miletus is as old as the archaeology of Byzantine Anatolia. This makes it a useful point of reference for the progress of Byzantine settlement history as well as a stimulant for further research. This essay starts with an exposition of the riddle as it was perceived by Clive Foss in the 1970s. At that time there was as yet little direct archaeological evidence for the settlement history of Byzantine Anatolia, and Foss's hypothesis was based mainly on historical deduction.

The state of research has since changed, and new archaeological evidence from Miletus will be presented. This may not solve the riddle, but it will help to accentuate the problem further. In the search for an answer, recent field work at Aphrodisias, Hierapolis, and elsewhere in Anatolia will be considered. The evidence sheds new light on the date and character of the Byzantine walls of Miletus. These considerations will finally lead to a tentative solution, which—alas—will sound disappointingly familiar and will return to the starting point of historical speculation rather than end with archaeological certainty.

The Riddle of the Market Gate

The riddle of the Market Gate concerns the Byzantine walls that were built up against the back of the Roman Market Gate (fig. 1).¹ The Roman gate faces north and served as a monumental entrance to the South Market. Figure 2 shows a view toward the Theater Hill in the northwest at the time of excavation over a century ago. The four pylons of the Roman gate formed the north face of the Byzantine walls (fig. 3). The south face was added on, and the intervening gap originally filled with mortar and stones. The excavators had the filling taken out in order to search for ancient inscriptions.²

The Byzantine walls blocked the two lateral passages of the Roman gate. The western passage now opens into a tower, the remains of which can be seen in figure 2. The tower served to protect a Byzantine gate in the same place as the central passage of the Roman monument.

¹ T. Wiegand, "Fünfter vorläufiger Bericht über die von den Königlichen Museen in Milet unternommenen Ausgrabungen," in *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 1906 VIII (Berlin 1906) 249–65, at 257; H. Knackfuß, *Milet I 7. Der Südmarkt und die benachbarten Bauanlagen* (Berlin 1924) 154–55; A. von Gerkan, *Milet II 3. Die Stadtmauern* (Berlin 1935) 114–17; P. Niewöhner, "Sind die Mauern die Stadt? Vorbericht über die siedlungsgeschichtlichen Ergebnisse neuer Grabungen im spätantiken und byzantinischen Milet," *AA* (2008/1) 181–201; idem, "Milet in frühbyzantinischer Zeit,"

in O. Dally et al. (eds.), *ZeitRäume. Milet in Kaiserzeit und Spätantike*, Catalogue of the exhibition in Berlin 2009–2010 (Regensburg 2009) 60–67 (please note corrigendum: p. 65, right column; the second paragraph on alleged fourth-century housing was not written by the author and must be deleted).

² T. Wiegand, "Vierter vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen der Königlichen Museen zu Milet," in *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 1905 XXV (Berlin 1905) 533–48, at 533–35.

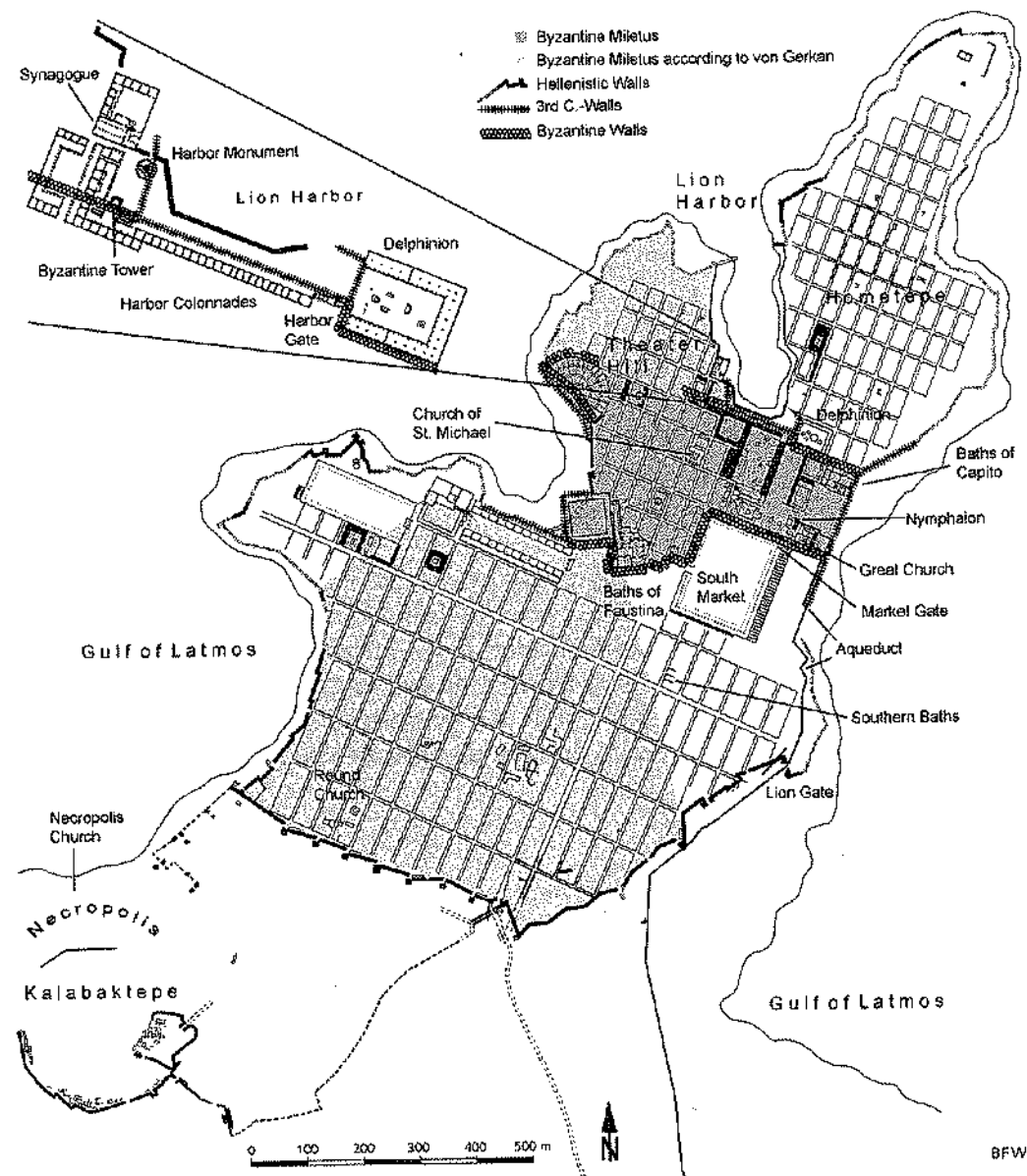


Fig. 1. Byzantine Miletus (P. Niewöhner).

A suggestive inscription was found in front of the gate (fig. 4). This document refers to a gate having been built during the reign of Justinian and can be dated to the year A.D. 538.³ Armin von Gerkan understood this to date the walls and concluded that Miletus had shrunk to about half its earlier size by the age of Justinian.⁴ Nobody objected until Foss pointed out that the inscription is

³ Wiegand, "Fünfter Bericht" (supra n. 1), 257; Knackfuß, *Milet I 7* (supra n. 1), 154–55 fig. 170, 303–4, no. 206; A. Rehm, H. Dessau, and P. Herrmann, *Milet VI. Inschriften von Milet. Teil 1* (Berlin and New York 1997) 35–36, 201, no. 206; V. Kästner, "Die Spolie mit der Justiniansinschrift vom

milesischen Markttor," in O. Dally et al. (eds.), *ZeitRäume. Milet in Kaiserzeit und Spätantike*, Catalogue of the exhibition in Berlin 2009–2010 (Regensburg 2009) 204–11.

⁴ Von Gerkan, *Milet II 3* (supra n. 1), 127.



Fig. 2. Miletus, Market Gate (foreground) and Theater Hill (background) from the south, around 1905 (Berlin, Antikensammlung, Mil 352).

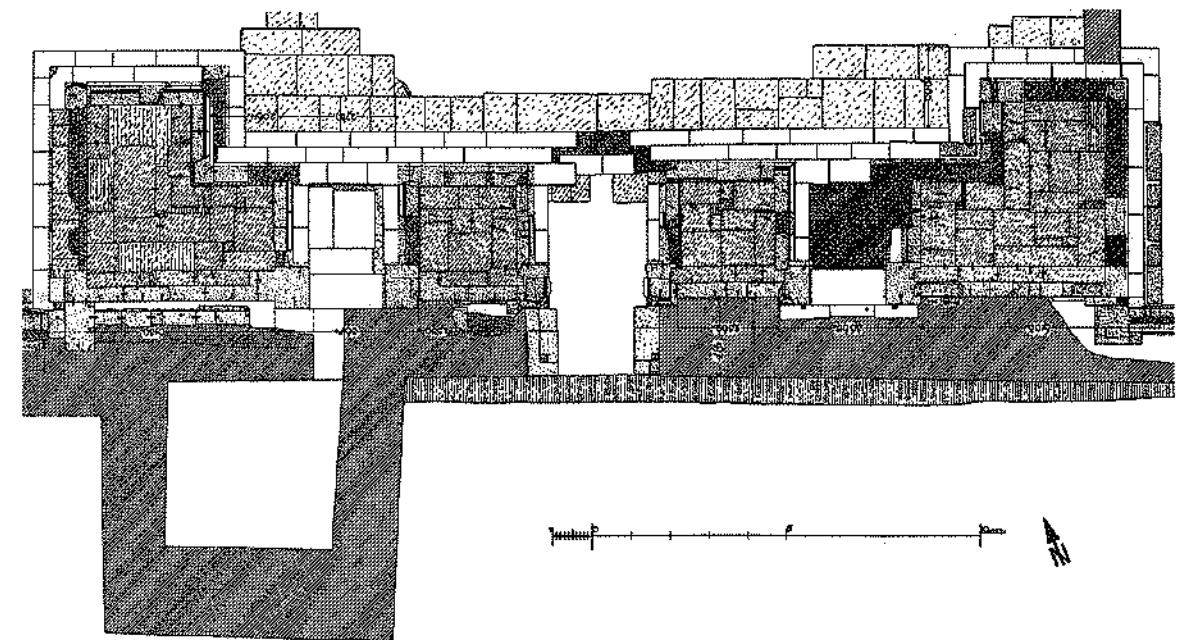
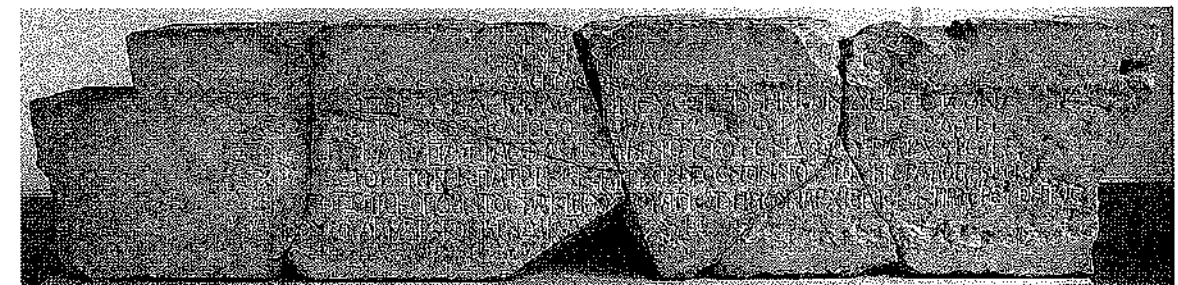
Fig. 3. Miletus, Market Gate, foundations in situ (Knackfuß, *Milet I 7* [supra n. 1], pl. 2 fig. 3).

Fig. 4. Miletus, Market Gate, Justinianic inscription, now in Berlin, Pergamon Museum (P. Niewöhner).

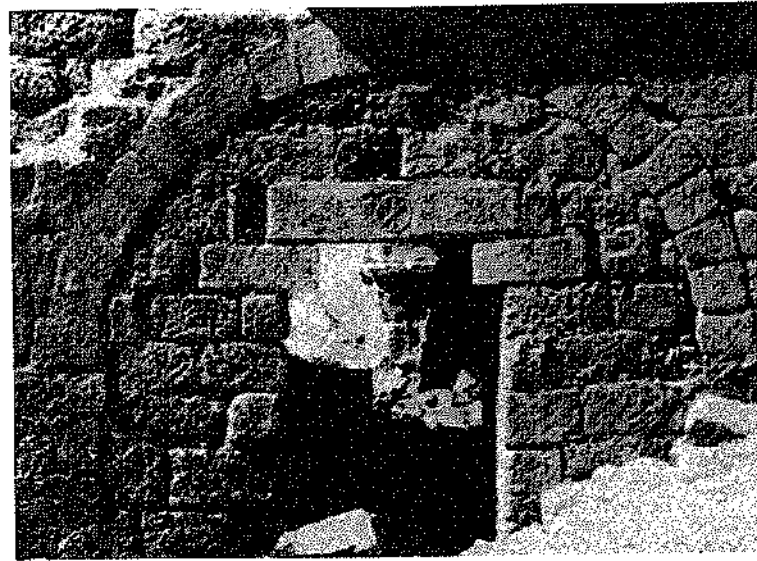


Fig. 6. Side (Pamphylia), southeast gate from the east (Mansel, *Side* [supra n. 6], 56 fig. 53).

Fig. 5. Miletus, Market Gate, Justinianic inscription (cf. fig. 4), broken right side (P. Niewöhner).

unlike any other inscription from a fortification and does not refer to any walls having been built in addition to the gate.⁵ Foss therefore assumed that the inscription refers to some other building activity and does not date the walls.

Closer inspection of the block of marble that carries the inscription is not conclusive. The block is ancient and originally served as a doorpost; it has two ancient inscriptions on the front. The Justinianic inscription is carved on the back. There is no doorstop and no way of telling how many times the block was reused. One end is broken, but the remains of a clamp hole and a dowel hole show that the block was never much longer (fig. 5). The block is too short to bridge the gate properly. This does not, however, preclude its use as a lintel. The gate could have been constructed in the same way as the southeast gate of Side in Pamphylia (fig. 6).⁶ In Side the doorframe steps in at the top to accommodate a lintel that would otherwise have been too short.

One could speculate much more about the feasible uses of the block and possible origin of the Justinianic inscription, but probably to no avail. We simply do not know whether the inscription dates the walls.

⁵ C. Foss, *Byzantine Cities of Western Asia Minor* (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University 1972) 481 no. 45; idem, "Archaeology and the 'Twenty Cities' of Byzantine Asia Minor," *AJA* 81 (1977) 469–86, at 478 no. 49; reprint in: idem, *History and Archaeology of Byzantine Asia Minor* (Aldershot 1990) II.

⁶ A.M. Mansel, *Side: 1947–1966 Yılları Kazıları ve Araştırmalarının Sonuçları*, *Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları* ser.

5 v. 33 = *Antalya Bölgesinde Araştırmalar* 10 (Ankara 1978) 56 fig. 53; U. Peschlow, "Mauerbau in krisenloser Zeit? Zur spätantiken Stadtbefestigungen im südlichen Kleinasien. Der Fall Side," in D. Kreikenbom, K.-U. Mahler, and T.M. Weber (eds.), *Krise und Kult. Vorderer Orient und Nordafrika von Aurelian bis Justinian*, *Millennium Studies* 28 (Wiesbaden 2010) 61–108, at 81–85, 104–7 figs. 30–37.

Foss, however, was sure that this is not the case, because he believed on other grounds that Miletus had not shrunk to half its size by A.D. 538. Foss was convinced that the age of Justinian was still prosperous, and no decline had yet set in.⁷ The issue had already troubled von Gerkan (see below) and is further aggravated by new discoveries to be discussed in the following paragraphs.

The Byzantine Walls

Von Gerkan reconstructed the Byzantine walls in the shape of a figure-eight with a north and a south loop (see fig. 1).⁸ The north loop has been excavated and includes the Market Gate. The south loop was supposed to turn off at the Baths of Faustina and cut back to the stadium, but there is no archaeological evidence for this.⁹ A geomagnetic survey has revealed no traces of the south loop either, although other less massive structures show up clearly, for example a hitherto unknown Roman market basilica to the east of the South Market.¹⁰ This shows beyond a reasonable doubt that the Byzantine walls never included a south loop.

Von Gerkan assumed the existence of a south loop simply because he was convinced that "the area [included in the north loop] is surely too small for [early] Byzantine Miletus."¹¹ It never occurred to von Gerkan that he might turn this argument around and question the Justinianic date for the Byzantine walls. I shall return to this point, but first there is a second reduction of the Byzantine circuit to be registered.

Figure 1 shows an updated reconstruction of the area included in the Byzantine walls. The tip of the northwestern peninsula that von Gerkan includes in his reconstruction has been cut off as well. The new reconstruction, with a shortcut running in a straight line from the Lion Harbor toward the theater, rests on the alignment of a tower¹² at the eastern end of this line, where it takes off from the harbor (fig. 1, detail). The tower is oriented toward the north and implies that the walls did not turn in the same direction to surround the northern tip of the peninsula.¹³ If the walls had turned toward the north, the tower would have been superfluous.

Figure 7 reproduces a photograph of the tower that was taken more than a century ago at the time of excavation. It shows that the tower was built with a variety of spolia. At the time of excavation the chronology of the different fortifications was not yet understood,¹⁴ and later on the tower seems to have been forgotten. Von Gerkan did not mention it in the volume on the walls of Miletus that he published 30 years after the excavation.

⁷ C. Foss, "The Persians in Asia Minor and the end of antiquity," *EHR* 90 (1975) 721–43; reprint in: idem, *History and Archaeology of Byzantine Asia Minor* (Aldershot 1990) I; idem, "Archaeology" (supra n. 5); idem, "The Lycian coast in the Byzantine age," *DOP* 48 (1994) 1–52; reprint in: idem, *Cities, Fortresses and Villages of Byzantine Asia Minor* (Aldershot 1996) II. Cf. E. Kirsten, "Die byzantinische Stadt," *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress* III (Munich 1958) 16; W. Müller-Wiener, "Von der Polis zum Kastron: Wandlung der Städte im ägäischen Raum von der Antike zum Mittelalter," *Gymnasium* 93 (1986) 435–75, at 440–51; M. Whittow, "Ruling the late Roman and early Byzantine city: A continuous history," *PastPres* 129 (1990) 3–29; idem, "Recent research on the late-antique city in Asia Minor: The second half of the 6th c. revisited," in L. Lavan (ed.), *Recent Research in Late-Antique Urbanism*, *JRA Suppl.* 42 (Portsmouth, RI 2001) 137–53; C. Wickham, *Framing the*

Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400–800 (Oxford 2005) 626–27.

⁸ A. von Gerkan, *Milet I 6. Der Nordmarkt und der Hafen an der Löwenbucht* (Berlin 1922) 85; idem, *Stadtmauern* (supra n. 1) 86, 116–17 pl. 1.

⁹ Niewöhner, "Mauern" (supra n. 1).

¹⁰ H. Stümpel, "Geophysikalische Prospektion in Milet: Arbeiten in den Kampagnen 2000–2002," *AA* (2005) 183–94, at 186–89.

¹¹ Von Gerkan, *Milet II* 3 (supra n. 1), 86, 116.

¹² Von Gerkan, *Milet I* 6 (supra n. 8), 17 pls. 8, 11.

¹³ W. Müller-Wiener, "Untersuchungen auf dem Theater-Hügel [von Milet]," *IstMitt* 32 (1981) 15–17, at 16; Niewöhner, "Mauern" (supra n. 1). Cf. G. Kleiner, *Die Ruinen von Milet* (Berlin 1968) 59.

¹⁴ Wiegand, "Fünfter Bericht" (supra n. 1), 257; von Gerkan, *Milet II* 3 (supra n. 1), 127.

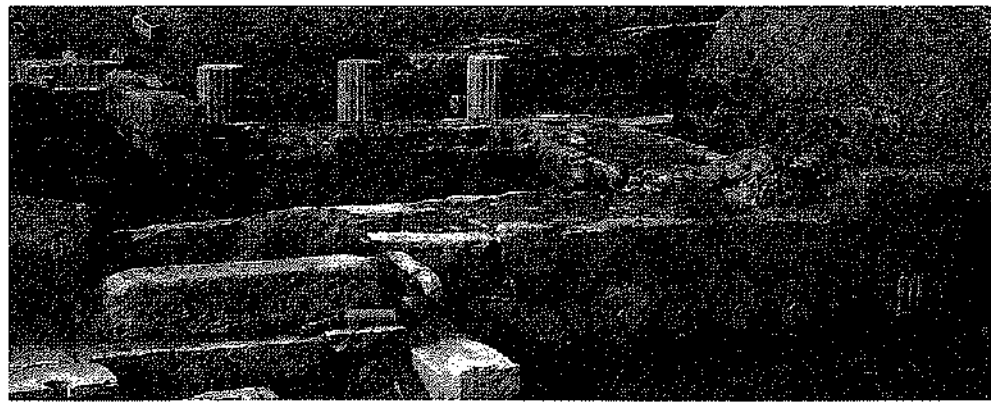


Fig. 7. Miletus, Lion Harbor, Byzantine Tower from the south, around 1904 (Berlin, Antikensammlung, Mil 293).

The Third-Century Walls

More recently another hitherto unknown stretch of walls has been excavated to the northeast of the Baths of Capito (see fig. 1). The walls fortified the northeastern peninsula, now called Hometepe, and can be identified with a third-century renovation of the ancient circuit.¹⁵ This renovation has been noticed elsewhere along the ancient circuit,¹⁶ but until now not on the northeastern peninsula. It was therefore assumed that Hometepe had not been refortified in the third century and that Miletus had already lost part of its ancient population.¹⁷ Now we know that this was not the case. The newly discovered stretch of walls proves that the entire ancient city was refortified in the third century.

It follows that a Justinianic date for the Byzantine walls does indeed imply a fundamental change in the urban layout within the early Byzantine period. Von Gerkan and Foss were surely right to worry about this, and there are yet more new discoveries to be reported that add to the problem.

The Southern Baths

Outside the Byzantine walls a previously unknown bath building was accidentally discovered in 2008 during cleaning operations connected with the restoration of the Ilyas Bey Mosque. The Selçuk mosque is situated to the south of the South Market, and the baths lie behind the mosque, occupying the southern half of the same insula (see fig. 1). In 2009 stratigraphic excavations were undertaken inside the bath building, which turned out to date originally from the Roman imperial period. A second building phase constituted a renovation and took place after the fifth century, most likely during the reign of Justinian. The renovation included the opening of new passageways and the closing of old ones, probably in connection with the abandonment of the frigidarium. A new hypocaust system was also installed, as well as new marble floors and wall revetment.

In comparison with the other known thermae of Roman Miletus, the southern baths appear small, simple, and utilitarian. They will have served the daily needs of their neighborhood that probably consisted of living quarters. The renovation after the fifth century indicates that the neighborhood was still thriving and poses the question why it should have been excluded from the contemporary fortifications.

¹⁵ Niewöhner, "Mauern" (supra n. 1).

¹⁶ Von Gerkan, *Milet II* 3 (supra n. 1), 81–84, 126–27; I. Blum, "Die Stadtmauern von Alt-Milet: Ergebnisse des Surveys 1996 und 1997," *AA* (1999) 53–76, at 62–63 fig. 12.

¹⁷ Von Gerkan, *Milet II* 3 (supra n. 1), 127; C. Foss and D. Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications: An Introduction* (Pretoria 1986) 284 fig. 2.

The Necropolis Church

Von Gerkan's reconstruction of a south loop of the Byzantine walls had been partly inspired by a centrally planned building near the outskirts of the Roman city that was turned into a church in the fifth or sixth century (see fig. 1, "Round Church").¹⁸

Recently yet another, larger church was found to have been built ex novo in the extra-urban necropolis north of Kalabaktepe (see fig. 1).¹⁹ Kalabaktepe is the name of a hill southwest of Miletus. The Necropolis Church was discovered by geomagnetic survey: the two empty stripes on the chart in figure 8 correspond with the ditches on both sides of the field in figure 9. The church extends on both sides beyond the field and has the form of a basilica with atrium. To the south there is a large open square.

Excavation has revealed that the church was built after the fifth century, most probably during the reign of Justinian. The basilica is three-aisled and has a transept. The aisles are paved with mosaics, the transept with marble. The atrium to the west incorporates two earlier graves on its south side. One of them was the object of much attention and seems to have been venerated. This may have been the martyrium of an unidentified saint that is mentioned in a Byzantine inscription from Miletus.²⁰ The lavish size and monumentality of the Necropolis Church does not accord with the economy and restriction of the Byzantine walls.

The Territory

Further outside town a survey of the territory of Miletus has revealed that the countryside witnessed an unprecedented boom in the fifth and sixth centuries. Rural settlements grew both in number and size beyond any earlier level. The population must have done so, too, and rural churches greatly outnumbered urban ones.²¹ The evidence consists mostly of pottery sherds, but churches and stone-masonry were found as well.²² None of the rural settlements was fortified. This lack of walls was obviously no obstacle to prosperity, so why fortify the town?

The Character and Date of Earlier Byzantine Fortifications of Anatolia

Foss's answer to all this was, of course, that Miletus had not been fortified in A.D. 538 but only later, when from the seventh century onward Anatolia was overrun first by the Persians and then by the Arabs.²³ Carl Humann suggested the same more than a century ago, when he tried to make sense of

¹⁸ T. Wiegand, "Dritter vorläufiger Bericht über die von den Königlichen Museen begonnen Ausgrabungen in Milet," in *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 1904 III (Berlin 1904) 72–91, at 86–89; W. Müller-Wiener, "Rundkirche bei der Süd-Mauer [von Milet]," *IstMitt* 31 (1981) 96–99; O. Feld, "Eine Kirche für Maria in Miletos," in C. Striker (ed.), *Architectural Studies in Memory of Richard Krautheimer* (Mainz 1996) 67–70; O. Feld, "Miletos e Kos: le isole microasiatiche e la terra ferma," in *Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 44 (Ravenna 1998) 123–42, at 138–42.

¹⁹ P. Niewöhner, "Die große Friedhofskirche von Milet: Vorbericht über die Ausgrabung einer neuentdeckten Transeptbasilika," *Mitteilungen zur Christlichen Archäologie* 13 (2007) 71–90.

²⁰ J. Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant, fait aux années 1675 et 1676*, vol. 3.1 (La Haye 1678) 161; P. Herrmann, W. Günther, and N. Ehrhardt, *Milet VI*.

Inschriften von Milet. Teil 3 (Berlin 2006) 295–96 no. 1578.

²¹ H. Lohmann, "Survey in der Chora von Milet: Vorbericht über die Kampagnen der Jahre 1990, 1992 und 1993," *AA* (1995) 293–328, at 323–28; idem, "Survey in der Chora von Milet: Vorbericht über die Kampagnen der Jahre 1996 und 1997," *AA* (1999) 439–73, at 465; M. Berndt, *Funde aus dem Survey auf der Halbinsel von Milet (1992–1999)*, *Internationale Archäologie* 79 (Rahden 2003) 114; H. Lohmann, "Milet und die Milesia: Eine antike Großstadt und ihr Umland im Wandel der Zeit," in F. Kolb (ed.), *Chora und Polis, Schriften des historischen Kollegs: Kolloquien* 54 (Munich 2004) 325–60, at 352.

²² P. Niewöhner, "Byzantinische Steinmetzarbeiten aus dem Umland von Milet," *Anadolu ve Çevresinde Ortaçağ* 1 (2007) 1–28.

²³ For Foss, see supra n. 5. For the Arab incursions, see H. Ahrweiler, "L'Asie Mineure et les invasions arabes (7^e–9^e siècles)," *RHist* 227 (1962) 1–32, at 10–12; W. Brandes, *Die Städte Kleinasien im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert* (Amsterdam 1989) 51–80.

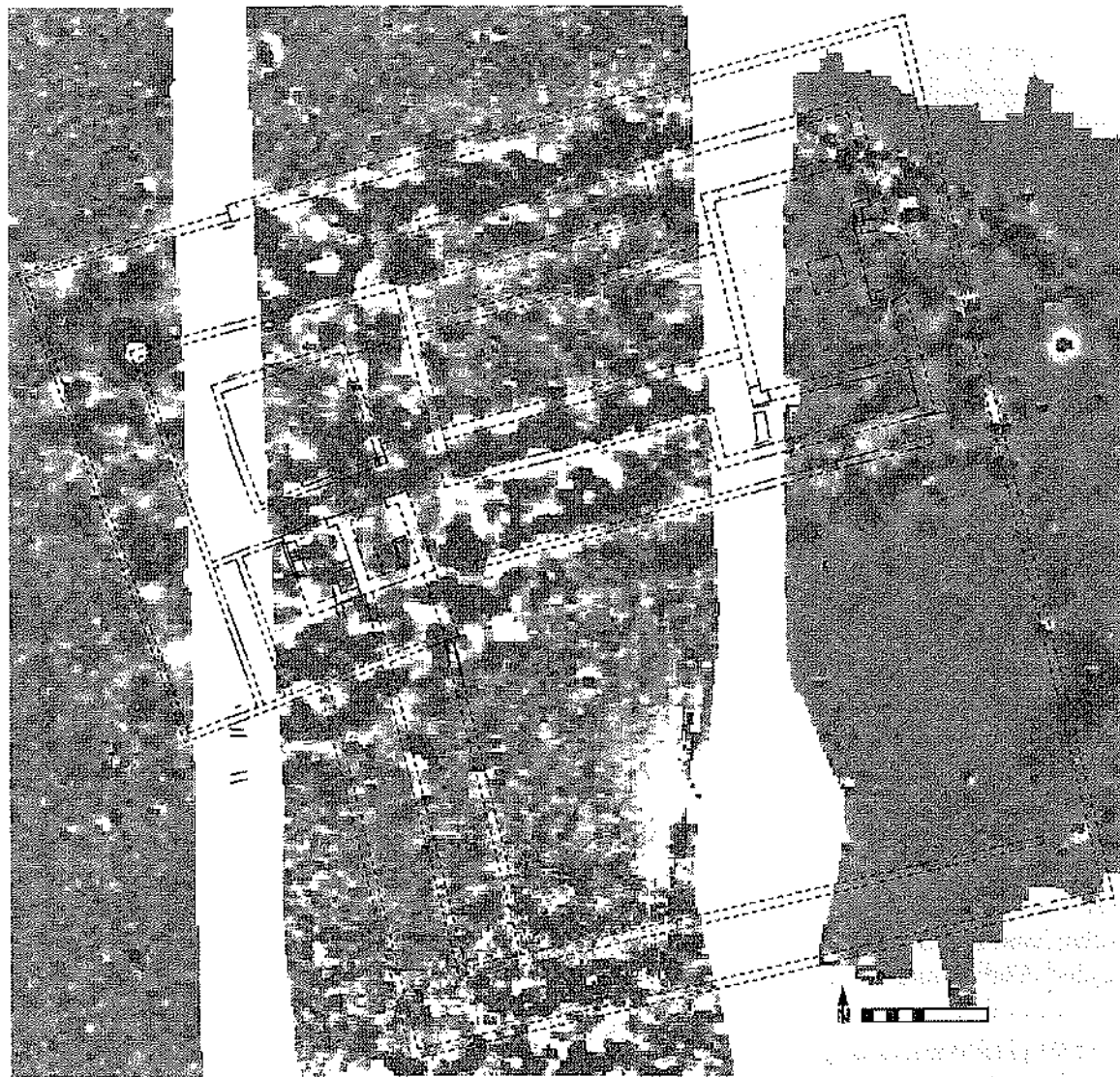


Fig. 8. Miletus, Necropolis Church, geomagnetic chart (H. Stümpe) and plan (P. Niewöhner).



Fig. 9. Miletus, Necropolis Church, view from Kalabaktepe looking north (P. Niewöhner).

the Byzantine walls of Magnesia on the Maeander. The fortified area is as small in comparison with the extent of that ancient city as at Miletus.²⁴

Elsewhere the situation is similar, but the interpretation veers towards a Justinianic date. The so-called Justinianic walls at Patara offer one example, Ephesus and Side others.²⁵ This cannot be ignored, because if those towns were constricted by tightening circuits during the sixth century, why not Miletus, too?

Foss simply dates every set of walls to the seventh century or later.²⁶ At the time of his writing in the 1970s it seemed as if hardly any town in western Anatolia had been fortified during the early Byzantine period. Foss assumes that after some activity in the third century, wall-building died down during the early Byzantine period and was not resumed before the seventh century.²⁷

More recently, though, the walls of about a dozen Anatolian towns have been dated to the early Byzantine period. The list includes Aphrodisias, Sardis, Anemurium, Smyrna/Izmir, Sagalassos, Hierapolis in Phrygia, Laodicea on the Lycus, Tlos, Blaundos, Limyra, and Amorium.²⁸ The dating is

²⁴ C. Humann, J. Kohte, and C. Watzinger, *Magnesia am Maeander* (Berlin 1904) 33 pls. 2–3; O. Bingöl, *Menderes Magnesiast* (Ankara 1998) 57–58; idem, *Magnesia ad Maeandrum: The City of Artemis with "White Eyebrows"* (Istanbul 2007) 130–32. An early Byzantine date has been proposed by M. Kiel, "Magnesia on the Maeander as Byzantine fortress and Turkish market place: Remarks on the mosque of Aydinoglu Mehmed şah Çelebi b. Musa Bey" in *Uluslararası Sanat Tarihi Sempozyumu: Prof. Dr. Gönül Öney'e Armağan* (Izmir 2002) 375–85, at 376.

²⁵ Patara: F. Işık, *Patara. The History and Ruins of the Capital City of Lycian League* (Antalya 2000) 105–6, 172–73; H. Hellenkemper and F. Hild, *Lykien und Pamphylien, Tabula Imperii Byzantini 8 = DenkschrWien 320* (Vienna 2004) II 784–85; U. Peschlow, "Befestigungen lykischer Städte in spätantiker und frühbyzantinischer Zeit," in K. Dörflük et al., *The 3rd International Symposium on Lycia*, vol. 2 (Antalya 2006) 601–24, at 604; V. Ruggieri, "Patara. Due casi di architettura bizantina e la continuità urbana," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 75 (2009) 319–41, at 322–23; S.-G. Bruer and M. Kunze, *Der Stadtplan von Patara und Beobachtungen zu den Stadtmauern*, *Patara 1.1* (Istanbul 2010).

Ephesus: H. Thür, "Das spätantike Ephesos: Aspekte zur Frage der Christianisierung des Stadtbilds," in G. Brands and H.-G. Severin (eds.), *Die spätantike Stadt und ihre Christianisierung* (Wiesbaden 2003) 259–73, at 268–69 (note that the early Byzantine acclamations may have been carved before the doorframe was reused at a city gate); A. Pülz, "Das Stadtbild von Ephesos in byzantinischer Zeit," in F. Daim and J. Drauschke (eds.), *Byzanz—Das Römerreich im Mittelalter*. Teil 2.2. *Schauplätze, Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums* 84.2.2 (Mainz 2010) 541–71, at 558–60.

Side: A.M. Mansel, *Die Ruinen von Side* (Berlin 1963) 40; F. Hild, review of C. Foss, *History and Archaeology of Byzantine Asia Minor* (Aldershot 1990), *JÖBG* 45 (1995) 385–87, at 386; Hellenkemper and Hild, *Lykien* (supra this note) I 388–389; II 784–785; Peschlow, "Mauerbau" (supra n. 6).

²⁶ Patara: Foss, "Lycian coast" (supra n. 7), 15.

Ephesus: C. Foss, *Ephesus After Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City* (Cambridge 1979) 106–7; Foss and Winfield, *Fortifications* (supra n. 17), 132–33.

Side: C. Foss, "The cities of Pamphylia in the Byzantine age," in idem, *Cities, Fortresses and Villages of Byzantine Asia Minor*, vol. 3 (Aldershot 1996) 43–44. Cf. Peschlow, "Befestigungen" (supra n. 25), 608–9. An even later, middle Byzantine date has been proposed by C. Gliwitsky, "Die Kirche im sog. Bischofspalast zu Side," *IstMitt* 55 (2005) 337–408, at 376–78.

²⁷ Foss and Winfield, *Fortifications* (supra n. 17), 129–30. Cf. T. Ulbert, "Stadtmauern in byzantinischer Zeit," in T.G. Schattner and F. Valdés Fernández (eds.), *Stadtmauern: Bautyp und Kunstform*, *Iberia Archaeologica* 8 (Mainz 2006) 275–90, at 278.

²⁸ Aphrodisias, second half of the fourth century: C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity, JRS Monograph* 5 (London 1989) 42–45 no. 22; C. Ratté, "New Research on the urban development of Aphrodisias in late antiquity," in D. Parrish (ed.), *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor, JRA Suppl.* 45 (Portsmouth, RI 2001) 116–47, at 125–26; C. Ratté and R.R.R. Smith, "Archaeological research at Aphrodisias in Caria, 2002–2005," *AJA* 112 (2008) 713–51, at 734 n. 50; P.D. De Staebler, "The city wall and the making of a late-antique provincial capital," in C. Ratté and R.R.R. Smith (eds.), *Aphrodisias Papers 4. New Research on the City and its Monuments, JRA Suppl.* 70 (Portsmouth, RI 2008) 284–318, at 308–11.

Sardis, second half of the fourth century: G.M.A. Hanfmann, R.S. Thomas, and D. Van Zanten, "The city walls," in G.M.A. Hanfmann and J.C. Waldbaum (eds.), *A Survey of Sardis and the Major Monuments Outside the Walls, Archaeological Exploration of Sardis R1* (Cambridge 1975) 35–52, at 45; G.M.A. Hanfmann, *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times: Results of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis 1958–1975* (Cambridge 1983) 143–44; C.H. Greenwalt, "Sardis: Archaeological research and conservation projects in 2000," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 23.2 (2001) 227–34, at 228.

Anemurium, around A.D. 382: J. Russell, "The military garrison of Anemurium during the reign of Arcadius," in *Atti*

not always precise, but there can be no doubt that walls continued to be built and rebuilt during the early Byzantine period. It would therefore seem that a Justinianic date for the Byzantine fortification of Miletus cannot be ruled out.

Around A.D. 400

The matter is more complicated, though, as will become apparent on closer examination of the date and character of the various early Byzantine wall circuits. It turns out that most of the securely dated walls were built around A.D. 400,²⁹ possibly in reaction to the Gothic invasion of the Balkans during the last quarter of the fourth century.³⁰ This pattern is significant, because it tallies with other building activity. Around A.D. 400 much urban building went on in Anatolia: colonnaded streets and squares were built or rebuilt, for example in Aizanoi, Aphrodisias, Ephesus, Limyra, Nicomedia, Sagalassos, Sardis, Side, and Xanthos.³¹

In Aizanoi the colonnade was constructed solely with reused parts, and the columns lack bases (fig. 10).³² Nevertheless, the building suffices to suggest an atmosphere of elevated urban lifestyle in the

del XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina, vol. 1 (Rome 1999) 721–28.

Smyrna/Izmir, reign of emperor Arcadius (395–408): W. Müller-Wiener, "Die Stadtbefestigungen von Izmir, Sığacık und Çandarlı," *IstMitt* 12 (1962) 59–114, at 62–63.

Sagalassos, around A.D. 400: L. Loots, M. Waelkens, and F. Depuydt, "The city fortifications of Sagalassos from the Hellenistic to the Late Roman period," in M. Waelkens and L. Loots (eds.), *Sagalassos V: Report on the Survey and Excavation Campaigns 1996 and 1997, ActaArchLov Monographiae* 11 a–b (Leuven 2000) 595–634, at 616–18.

Hierapolis, around A.D. 400: *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* II (Stuttgart 1971) 1223 s. v. "Hierapolis" (P. Verzone); F. D'Andria, *Hierapolis in Phrygien, Alte anatolische Städte* 5 (Istanbul 2003) 115.

Laodicea, around A.D. 400: C. Şimşek, *Laodikeia* (Istanbul 2007) 111–14.

Tlos, around A.D. 400 (?): Hellenkemper and Hild, *Lykien* (supra n. 25), II 887.

Blaundos, around A.D. 400 (?): A. Filges, "Stadtentwicklung im Gebiet des oberen Mäander: Die lydisch-phrygische Grenzregion am Beispiel von Blaundos," in E. Schwertheim and E. Winter (eds.), *Stadt und Stadtentwicklung in Kleinasien, Asia Minor Studien* 50 (Bonn 2003) 35–50, at 47; J. Giese, "Baugeschichtliche Einordnung," in A. Filges (ed.), *Blaundos. Berichte zur Erforschung einer Kleinstadt im lydisch-pamphyliischen Grenzgebiet, IstForsch* 48 (Tübingen 2006) 114–24, at 116–22.

Limyra, fifth century: J. Borchhardt et al., "Bericht der Grabungskampagne in Limyra 2001," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 24.2 (2002) 303–14, at 305, 307 (terminus post quem in the fifth century: ceramics of the fourth and fifth century in the foundation of the gate to the north of the Ptolemaion; terminus ante quem in the sixth century: the addition of the church to the southeast of the Ptolemaion); T. Marksteiner, "Die spätantiken und byzantinischen Befestigungen von Li-

myra im Bereich des Ptolemaions," in M. Seyer (ed.), *Studien in Lykien, ÖJh Erg.* 8 (Vienna 2007) 29–45, at 43.

Amorium, probably reign of emperor Zeno (474–491): terminus post quem around the middle of the fifth century: ceramics and the typology of a triangular tower; the roof beams of the tower were cut after A.D. 487: R.M. Harrison, "Amorium excavations 1990: The third preliminary report," *AnatSt* 41 (1991) 215–29, at 225–26 (ceramics); J. Crow, "Fortifications and urbanism in late antiquity: Thessaloniki and other cities," in L. Lavan (ed.), *Recent Research in Late Antique Urbanism, JRA Suppl.* 42 (Portsmouth, RI 2001) 89–105, at 102 (typology); C. and M. Lightfoot, *Amorium: A Byzantine City in Anatolia* (Istanbul 2007) 108 (dendrochronology). Byzantine sources ascribe the walls to emperor Zeno, Arab sources to his successor Anastasius (491–519): K. Belke, *Galatien und Lykaonien, Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 4 = *DenkschrWien* 172 (Vienna 1984) 123.

²⁹ Supra n. 28.

³⁰ P. Heather, *Goths and Romans 332–489* (Oxford 1991); H. Wolfram, *Die Goten und ihre Geschichte* (Munich 2001); P. Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (London 2005) 145–90.

³¹ L. Lavan, "Fora and agorai in Mediterranean cities during the 4th and 5th c. A.D.," in W. Bowden, A. Gutteridge, and C. Machado (eds.), *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity, Late Antique Archaeology* 3.1 (Leiden 2006) 195–249, at 196–204; P. Niewöhner, *Aizanoi, Dokimion und Anatolien: Stadt und Land, Siedlungs- und Steinmetzwesen vom späteren 4. bis ins 6. Jh. n. Chr., AF* 23 (Wiesbaden 2007) 87–88; F. Martens, "Urban traffic in the hills of the eastern Mediterranean. The development, maintenance, and usage of the street system at Sagalassos in south-western Turkey," in P. Ballet, N. Dieudonné-Glad, and C. Saliou (eds.), *La rue dans l'antiquité. Définition, aménagement et devenir de l'Orient méditerranéen à la Gaule* (Rennes 2008) 191–200, at 196 f.

³² K. Rheidt, "Aizanoi: Bericht über die Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen 1992 und 1993," *AA* (1995) 693–718, at

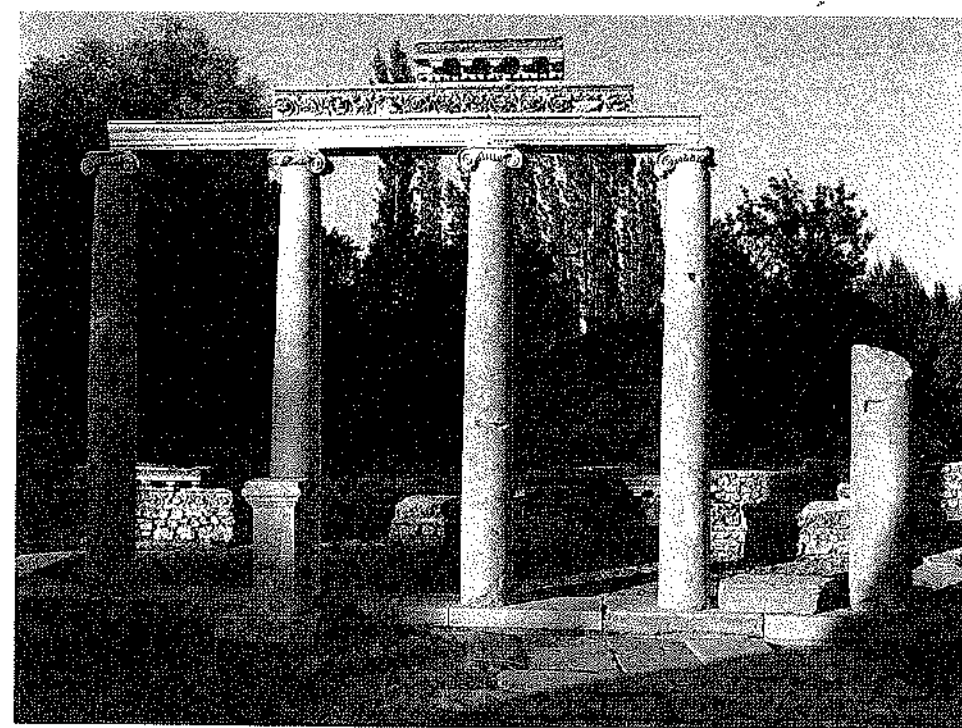


Fig. 10. Aizanoi (Phrygia), colonnaded street built around A.D. 400 (K. Rheidt, D-DAI-IST-Ai.95/300).

ancient tradition. The same holds true for thermae that were restored in Aphrodisias, Ephesus, Miletus, Sagalassos, Sardis, and Seleucia on the Calycadnus.³³ More luxury was displayed in large mansions that were built or refurbished in Aphrodisias, Arykanda, Elaiussa Sebaste, Ephesus, Erythrae, Halicarnassus, Hierapolis in Phrygia, Ilion/Troy, Pergamon, Perge, Pessinus, Sagalassos, Sardis, and Xanthos.³⁴

699–712; idem, "Archäologie und Spätantike in Anatolien: Methoden, Ergebnisse und Probleme der Ausgrabungen in Aizanoi," in G. Brands and H.-G. Severin (eds.), *Die spätantike Stadt und ihre Christianisierung* (Wiesbaden 2003) 239–47, at 240–41.

³³ Niewöhner, *Aizanoi* (supra n. 31), 89; H. Vanhaverbeke, F. Martens, and M. Waelkens, "Another view on late antiquity. Sagalassos (SW Anatolia), its suburbium and its countryside in late antiquity," in A.G. Poulter (ed.), *The Transition to Late Antiquity on the Danube and Beyond, ProBritAc* 141 (Oxford 2007) 611–48; M. Steskal and M. La Torre, *Das Vedio-gymnasium in Ephesos, Forschungen in Ephesos XIV* 1 (Vienna 2008) 310–12.

³⁴ Niewöhner, *Aizanoi* (supra n. 31), 90–91. Cf. P. Arthur, *Byzantine and Turkish Hierapolis (Pamukkale): An Archaeological Guide* (Istanbul 2006) 105, 148–50; A.-M. Manière-Lévêque, "Habitat proto-byzantin à Xanthos: les espaces de réception de la grande résidence nord-est de l'acropole lycienne," in *The 3rd International Symposium on Lycia* 1 (Antalya 2006) 425–40; S. Ellis, "Late antique housing and the uses of residential buildings. An overview," in L.

Lavan, L. Özgenel, and A. Sarantis (eds.), *Housing in Late Antiquity. From Palaces to Shops, Late Antique Archaeology* 3.2 (Leiden 2007) 1–22, at 11 f.; M. Waelkens et al., "Two late antique residential complexes at Sagalassos," in L. Lavan, L. Özgenel, and A. Sarantis (eds.), *Housing in Late Antiquity. From Palaces to Shops, Late Antique Archaeology* 3.2 (Leiden 2007) 495–513; A. Zaccaria Ruggiu, "Regio VIII, insula 104. Le strutture abitative. Fasi e trasformazioni," in F. D'Andria and M. Piera Caggia (eds.), *Hierapolis di Frigia I. Le attività delle campagne di scavo e restauro 2000–2003* (Istanbul 2007) 211–56; M. Rautman, "The aura of affluence: Domestic scenery in Late Roman Sardis," in N.D. Cahill (ed.), *Love for Lydia: A Sardis Anniversary Volume Presented to Crawford H. Greenewald, Jr., Sardis R4* (Cambridge, MA 2008) 147–58; E. Equini Schneider, "Elaiussa Sebaste—The 2007 excavation and conservation season," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 30.4 (2008) 177–90, at 177 f.; M.L. Berenfeld, "The Triconch House and the predecessors of the Bishop's Palace at Aphrodisias," *AJA* 113 (2009) 203–29; Pülz, "Stadt-bild" (supra n. 25), at 552–57.



Fig. 11. Aphrodisias, walls, historic photograph of the exterior façade next to southeast gate (D-DAL-IST-R35.383 Repro).

All this building activity contributed to the embellishment of various townscapes around A.D. 400, and the contemporary wall-building seems to have been part of that effort: for one thing, those earlier circuits were more extensive than the Byzantine walls of Miletus. The earlier walls enclosed all or at least the greater part of the ancient cities.³⁵ Secondly, the emphasis was on appearance rather than on fortification. I offer a few examples in the following section.

Masonry and Architectural Sculpture

The first example is from Aphrodisias. Figure 11 reproduces an old photograph from the archive of the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul. This stretch of walls is situated next to the southeast gate, where it would have been noticed by everyone who entered the town. All the building material is reused, but the courses are exceptionally regular and contain a choice selection of ancient reliefs. A cornice runs along the upper part of the walls as had already been the case with the third-century walls at Miletus.³⁶

At Aphrodisias the cornice reappears in other sections of the same walls, but the courses are less regular, and there are no reliefs,³⁷ probably because there is no gate nearby and therefore less attention to be attracted. A similar concentration of unusually careful construction and liberal

³⁵ Niewöhner, *Aizanoi* (supra n. 31), 93; P. Niewöhner, "Byzantinische Stadtmauern in Anatolien: Vom Statussymbol zum Bollwerk gegen die Araber," in J. Lorentzen et al. (eds.), *Aktuelle Forschungen zur Konstruktion, Funktion und Semantik antiker Stadtbefestigungen*, *Byzas* 10 (2010) 239–60, at 249–51.

³⁶ Von Gerkan, *Milet II* 3 (supra n. 1), 81–84 fig. 52; Niewöhner, "Mauern" (supra n. 1).

³⁷ K.T. Erim, *Aphrodisias: City of Venus and Aphrodite* (London 1986) 53; idem, *Aphrodisias: Ein Führer durch die antike Stadt und das Museum* (Istanbul 1989) 18 fig. 14–15; De Staebler, "City wall" (supra n. 28), 300–1 figs. 18–19.

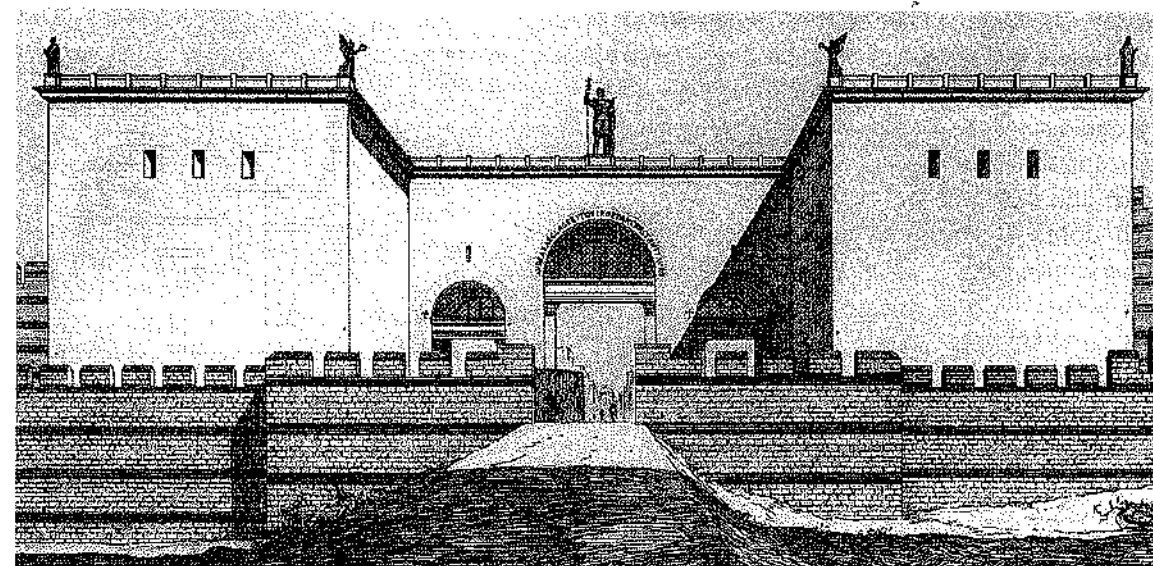


Fig. 12. Constantinople, Golden Gate, reconstructed exterior façade (F. Krischen, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel*, Teil 1. *Denkmäler antiker Architektur* 6 [Berlin 1938] pl. 19).

reuse of architectural sculpture can be observed at the gates of Blaundos, Hierapolis in Phrygia, Limyra, Sagalassos, and Tlos,³⁸ as opposed to other less carefully built and decorated stretches of the same walls.³⁹

Apotropaic Figures. The ancient reliefs next to the southeast gate of Aphrodisias are probably to be understood as apotropaes (see fig. 11). In neighboring Hierapolis heads of wild beasts and gorgons were found in the debris of the north gate and must have been affixed to it.⁴⁰ Gorgons count among the most common apotropaic figures of antiquity and remained in use in the Byzantine period.⁴¹

³⁸ Blaundos: J. Giese, "Das Nordtor," in A. Filges (ed.), *Blaundos: Berichte zur Erforschung einer Kleinstadt im lydisch-pamphyliischen Grenzgebiet*, *IstForsch* 48 (Tübingen 2006) 79–114, at 113–14.

Hierapolis: for the north gate, see *Hierapolis di Frigia* 1957–1987 (Milano 1987) 32–33; D'Andria, *Hierapolis* (supra n. 28), 112–14 figs. 92–94 (figural reliefs); Giese, "Nordtor" (supra this note), 123; Arthur, *Hierapolis* (supra n. 34), 129–30 fig. 63; for other gates, see *Hierapolis di Frigia* 1957–1987 (Milano 1987) 30 (south gate), 37 (east gate); H. Yildiz, "La porta sud bizantina di Hierapolis (Pamukkale, Denizli)," in F. D'Andria and F. Silvestrelli (eds.), *Ricerche archeologiche turche nella valle del Lykos*, *Università di Lecce: Scuola di specializzazione in archeologia classica e medievale: Archeologia e storia* 6 (Galatina 2000) 193–207; D'Andria, *Hierapolis* (supra n. 28), 115 fig. 95 (east gate), 202 fig. 177 (south gate); for a city plan, see D. de Bernardi Ferrero (ed.), *Saggi in onore di Paolo Verzone*, *Hierapolis: Scavi e ricerche* 4 = *Archaeologica* 137 (Rome 2002) foldout.

Limyra: A. Krickel and G. Schartner, "Das Osttor der

spätantiken Oststadt von Limyra," *ÖJh* 66 (1997) Beiblatt, 367–74, at 369–72 fig. 20; Peschlow, "Befestigungen" (supra n. 25), 620 fig. 20.

Sagalassos: Loots, Waelkens, and Depuydt, "City fortifications" (supra n. 28), 605, 620.

Tlos: Hellenkemper and Hild, *Lykien* (supra n. 25), II 887 fig. 403.

³⁹ Blaundos: A. Filges, "Die Stadtmauer: Mauerring und Türme," in idem (ed.), *Blaundos: Berichte zur Erforschung einer Kleinstadt im lydisch-pamphyliischen Grenzgebiet*, *IstForsch* 48 (Tübingen 2006) 67–78, at 77; Hierapolis: *Hierapolis di Frigia* 1957–1987 (Milano 1987) 33, 35; D'Andria, *Hierapolis* (supra n. 28), 107 fig. 89.

⁴⁰ D'Andria, *Hierapolis* (supra n. 28), 114 fig. 94.

⁴¹ *DACL* 11, 1 (1933) 195–99 s. v. "Méduse" (H. Leclercq); J. Engemann, "Zur Verbreitung magischer Übelabwehr in der nichtchristlichen und christlichen Spätantike," *JAC* 18 (1975) 22–48, at 35–36; *LIMC* 4.1 (Basel 1988) 285–330 s. v. "Gorgo, Gorgones" (I. Krauskopf); *LIMC* 4.1 (Basel 1988) 345–362 s. v. "Gorgones Romanae" (O. Paoletti).

Eagles. The Golden Gate in the Theodosian walls of Constantinople is the most monumental of all Byzantine gates and was built with considerable extra effort in order to effect a grand display (fig. 12). It is the only gate with a triple passage, and the only one with a facing of marble. Its towers are larger and therefore more impressive than normal, and the main doors were sheeted with gold and topped by a statue of the emperor. The gate served as stage for the *adventus*, the ceremonial return to the city after a successful campaign.⁴²

The Golden Gate is decorated with a pair of eagles, each sitting on one of the flanking towers and grasping a wreath with fillets hanging down (fig. 13). Other examples of flanking eagles can for instance be found at the entrance to the fifth-century church of St. John Studios at Constantinople and at several Roman gates and arches from the imperial period.⁴³

A gate of the early Byzantine walls at Sagalassos reused a keystone with the relief of an eagle grasping a snake.⁴⁴ A similar keystone was newly carved for an early Byzantine aqueduct near Constantinople.⁴⁵ The motif was traditionally used on pagan graves and may have been considered apotropaic.⁴⁶ During the Christian era it could alternatively have been interpreted as an allegory of Christ fighting Satan.⁴⁷

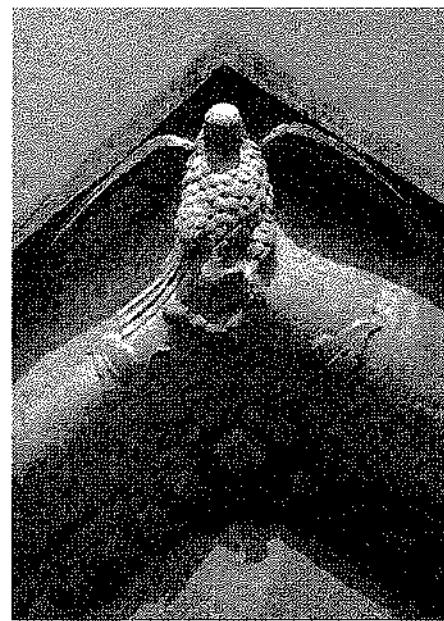


Fig. 13. Constantinople, Golden Gate (cf. fig. 12), southwest corner of north tower (D-DAI-IST-Inst. Neg. 5541).

Nikes. The southern passage of the northwest gate of Aphrodisias used to be decorated with an ancient archivolt, a common feature in early Byzantine fortifications.⁴⁸ The archivolt in Aphrodisias has since fallen off. The photograph in figure 14, again from the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul, must have been taken about a hundred years ago. The lintel carries a building inscription and is flanked on the right side by a relief of Nike.⁴⁹ The relief is badly damaged, but one can still make out the spread wings and a body that is turned toward the gate. Although the relief is certainly

⁴² B. Meyer-Plath and A.M. Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel. Teil 2. Aufnahme, Beschreibung und Geschichte, Denkmäler antiker Architektur* 8 (Berlin 1943) 39–60 pl. 28 I (eagle); J. Kramer, *Skulpturen mit Adlerfiguren an Bauten des 5. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. in Konstantinopel* (Munich 1968) 7–35; J. Bardill, "The Golden Gate of Constantinople. A triumphal arch of Theodosius I," *AJA* 103 (1999) 671–96; N. Asutay-Effenberger, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel-Istanbul: Historisch-topographische und baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen, Millennium-Studien* 18 (Wiesbaden 2007) 54–61.

⁴³ Kramer, *Skulpturen* (supra n. 42), 11.

⁴⁴ Northwest gate: Loots, Waelkens, and Depuydt, "City fortifications" (supra n. 28), 620.

⁴⁵ At Gümüşpınar to the west of the Long Walls: F. Dirimtekin, "Adduction de l'eau à Byzance dans la région dite 'Bulgarie,'" *CahArch* 10 (1959) 217–43, fig. 32.6. I would like to thank James Crow for this reference.

⁴⁶ F. Işık, *Girlanden-Sarkophage aus Aphrodisias, Sarkophag-Studien* 5 (Mainz 2007) 85–86.

⁴⁷ R. Wittkower, "Eagle and serpent," *JWarb* 2 (1938/39) 293–325; J. Trilling, "The soul of the empire: Style and meaning in the mosaic pavement of the Byzantine imperial palace in Constantinople," *DOP* 43 (1989) 27–72, at 59.

⁴⁸ Cf. reused archivolt and architraves above early Byzantine gates at Blaundos: Giese, "Nordtor" (supra n. 38), 81 fig. 73, 83, 85 fig. 77. Limyra: Peschlow, "Befestigungen" (supra n. 25), 620 fig. 20. Sagalassos: Loots, Waelkens, and Depuydt, "City fortifications" (supra n. 28), 620. Tlos: Hellenkemper and Hild, *Lykien* (supra n. 25), II 887 fig. 403.

⁴⁹ Cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* 13 (Paris 1965) pl. 27; Ratté and Smith, "Research" (supra n. 28), 734 fig. 19; De Staebler, "City wall" (supra n. 28), 297–300.

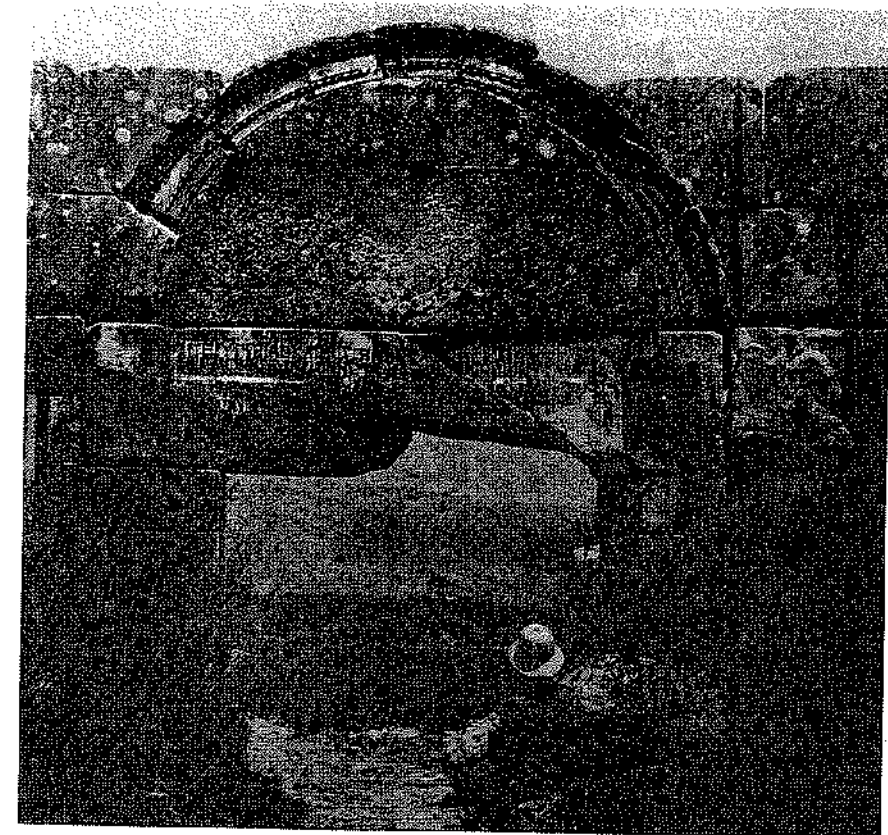


Fig. 14. Aphrodisias, south passage of northwest gate, historic photograph of the exterior façade (D-DAI-IST-R35.362. Repro).

reused, its placement next to the gate is hardly accidental. The Golden Gate as well as a secondary gate of Constantinople were also flanked by Nikes.⁵⁰

Figure 15 shows the northern passage of the northwest gate at Aphrodisias. The passage and the arch on top are both flanked by winged beings. Both reliefs are older, reused blocks, as is the case with all the other building material as well. The winged being at the bottom is part of a longer frieze. The one at the top is badly damaged. The upper body and the head are missing. Still, enough is left to compare with the north façade of the arch of Constantine in Rome. That arch is likewise flanked by two winged beings, a personification of winter at the bottom and one of Nike at the top.⁵¹ The comparison is vague,

⁵⁰ The Nike of the Golden Gate was a statue: see supra n. 42. The other Nike—a relief—used to be on display next to a gate at the Golden Horn. Note that it may have been put there later during the Byzantine period and was possibly understood to represent an angel rather than Nike. The relief is now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 948; A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites* (London 1899) 198–205; G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines* (Istanbul 1912–1914) 449–53 cat. no. 667; A.M. Schneider, "Die Blachernen," *Oriens* 4 (1951) 82–120, 90; N.

Firath, *La sculpture byzantine figurée au Musée archéologique d'Istanbul, Bibliothèque de l'Institut français d'études anatoliennes d'Istanbul* 30 (Paris 1990) 37–38 cat. no. 68 pl. 26. C.G. Curtis reports that he saw yet another Nike relief with a monogram of Heraclius on a tower at the tip of the historical peninsula of Istanbul during the 19th century: Mendel, *Catalogue* (supra this note), 452.

⁵¹ H.P. L'Orange and A. von Gerkan, *Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogens, Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte* 10 (Berlin 1939) 150–55.

but it must be taken into account that the choice of spolia available at Aphrodisias will have been limited. Their use was probably meant to evoke the tradition of Roman triumphal arches.

A Pair of Flanking Towers

Another ancient tradition is yet more common among early Byzantine fortifications: that of the gate with a pair of flanking towers. The most prominent example, the Golden Gate in the Theodosian walls of Constantinople (see fig. 12), has already been mentioned. This sophisticated fortification with an outer wall and ditch is commonly linked to Philo of Byzantium and his manual on the building of Hellenistic defenses.⁵² Other early Byzantine walls in provincial Anatolia were less intricate and show that a pair of flanking towers was often built for its own sake without the other features of a textbook fortification.

Hierapolis in Phrygia, the next example to be considered, boasts a dazzling circuit of walls with a number of gates. Some of them are fairly simple, but the north and south gates are more sophisticated.⁵³ They are situated opposite each other at the ends of the main street or decumanus and form the chief entrances to the town. The north gate has already been mentioned for its wild beasts and gorgons.

The north and south gates are each flanked by a pair of towers. The workmanship is again much better than elsewhere in the circuit. There as everywhere else, besides the two main gates, towers are widely spaced, and an aggressor could have forced his way in relatively easily. The towers flanking the gates overstate the defensive qualities of the fortification as a whole and are of little practical value. Their main purpose was clearly for display. They evoke the tradition of Hellenistic fortifications, easily the most imposing feature of Anatolian urbanism.

Many a Hellenistic fortification was pulled down during the Roman imperial period, but the main gates of Perge and Side were preserved as urban monuments, and each became the focal point of a new square. The flanking towers of the gate in Side came to represent the city on coins.⁵⁴ In the late antique and early Byzantine periods, when those towns were refortified, everyone had to pass the paired towers once again.⁵⁵ Similarly, the main gates of the late antique or early Byzantine walls



Fig. 15. Aphrodisias, north passage of northwest gate, historic photograph of the interior façade (E. Steiner, D-DAl-IST-Pe76/153-11 1976).

⁵² Meyer-Plath and Schneider, *Landmauer* (supra n. 42), 16-22; Foss and Winfield, *Fortifications* (supra n. 17), 44, 180 n. 10; Asutay-Effenberger, *Landmauer* (supra n. 42), 2.

⁵³ See the literature cited supra n. 38.

⁵⁴ Perge: A.M. Mansel, "Bericht über Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in Pamphylien in den Jahren 1957-1972," *AA* (1975) 49-96, at 60-75; P. Scherrer, "Hellenistische und römische Stadttore in Kleinasien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Ephesos," in T.G. Schattner and F. Valdés Fernández (eds.), *Stadttore: Bautyp und Kunstform, Iberia Archaeologica* 8 (Mainz 2006) 63-78, at 77.

Side: A.M. Mansel, "Bericht über Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in Pamphylien in den Jahren 1946-1955," *AA* (1956) 34-120, at 72-73; Mansel, *Ruinen* (supra n. 25), 36-37 fig. 23.

⁵⁵ In Perge an additional outer gate was built in front of the Hellenistic one: Mansel, "Bericht 1957-1972" (supra n. 54), 60-63; Hellenkemper and Hild, *Lykien* (supra n. 25), I 369; U. Peschlow, "Das Südtor von Perge," in I. Delemen et al. (eds.), *Euergetes. Festschrift für Dr. Haluk Abbasoğlu zum 65. Geburtstag* (Antalya 2008) 971-87.

Side: Mansel, *Ruinen* (supra n. 25), 39; A.M. Mansel,

of Ephesus and Sagalassos are Hellenistic in origin and flanked by towers.⁵⁶ This motif was passed down through history and became a hallmark of late antique and early Byzantine urbanism, too. One of the finest provincial examples was erected in Blaundos, together with others in Aphrodisias, Laodicea on the Lycus, and Limyra.⁵⁷ There, too, other gates have no towers and are less defensive in outward appearance.⁵⁸

The Fifth and Sixth Centuries

In the course of the fifth century wall-building died down in western Anatolia and nothing is reported from the sixth.⁵⁹ The same holds true for the other kinds of secular urban building that had flourished around A.D. 400: not only did new building come to a standstill, but the old colonnaded squares and streets fell prey to squatting and lost their formal civic character; ever more *thermae* ceased to function; and formerly sumptuous urban mansions were downgraded, subdivided, or simply left to decay.⁶⁰

Some walls shared this fate. In Amorium a part of the walls was pulled down to make room for a fifth-century church.⁶¹ The circuit of Sagalassos had been given up by the early sixth century,

"Osttor und Waffenreliefs von Side (Pamphylien)," *AA* (1968) 239-79, at 242, 258; Hellenkemper and Hild, *Lykien* (supra n. 25), I 381-82.

⁵⁶ Ephesus: Scherrer, "Stadttore" (supra n. 54), 68. Sagalassos, northeast gate: Loots, Waelkens, and Depuydt, "City fortifications" (supra n. 28), 625.

⁵⁷ Blaundos: Giese, "Nordtor" (supra n. 38).

Aphrodisias, west gate: C. Ratté and R.R.R. Smith, "Archaeological research at Aphrodisias in Caria, 1997 and 1998," *AJA* 104 (2000) 221-53, at 238-39 (description); Ratté, "Urban development" (supra n. 28), 118 fig. 5-2 (city plan), 125-26 fig. 5-5 (inscription and figural relief); Ratté and Smith, "Research" (supra n. 28), 733-35 (excavation); De Staebler, "City wall" (supra n. 28), 297-300.

Laodicea, eastern Byzantine gate: Şimşek, *Laodikeia* (supra n. 28), 103-11.

Limyra, east gate; the second tower is an addition: Krickel and Schartner, "Osttor" (supra n. 38). Cf. a gate with a pair of flanking towers, but with no certain date, at Philadelphia: E. Curtius, "Philadelphia: Nachtrag zu den Beiträgen zur Geschichte und Topographie Kleinasien," in *AbhBerl* (Berlin 1872) 93-95, at 94 pl. 8; Hanfmann, Thomas, and Van Zanten, "City walls" (supra n. 28), 41-43; A. Pralong, "Les remparts de Philadelphie," in H. Ahrweiler (ed.), *Philadelphie et autres études, Byzantina Sorbonensia* 4 (Paris 1984) 101-26; R. Meriç, "1985 Yılı Alaşehir Kazı Çalışmaları," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 8.2 (1986) 259-71, at 263 map 1; R. Meriç, "1987 Yılı Alaşehir Kazısı," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 10.1 (1988) 157-70, at 159, 167-68 figs. 10-11 map 3.

Cf. a gate at Amorium, where one flanking tower has been excavated: "The existence of another matching tower must be postulated to the other side of the gate. Since traces of few other towers are visible in the lower circuit at Amorium it is impossible to say whether the presence of a triangular tower (or pair of towers) is unusual"; Lightfoot, *Amorium* (supra n. 28), 105-6.

⁵⁸ Aphrodisias, several gates: Ratté, "Urban development"

(supra n. 28), 118 fig. 5-2; De Staebler, "City wall" (supra n. 28), 296-97 fig. 11. Blaundos, south gate: Filges, "Stadtmauer" (supra n. 39), 73-75. Limyra, south gate: H. Alanyali, A. Pülz, and P. Ruggendorfer, "Urbanistische Forschungen in der Oststadt von Limyra," *ÖJh* 66 (1997) Beiblatt, 374-83, at 375-76 fig. 21. Sagalassos, northwest gate: Loots, Waelkens, and Depuydt, "City fortifications" (supra n. 28), 620.

⁵⁹ With the exception of the eastern borderlands toward Armenia and Persia, where Justinian had a number of places fortified, including Caesarea in the Cappadocian hinterland of that border. For the border toward Armenia and Persia, see F. Hild and M. Restle, *Kappadokien, Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 2 = *DenkschrWien* 149 (Vienna 1981) 128-29; F.R. Trombley, "The decline of the seventh-century town: The exception of Euchaita," in S. Vryonis (ed.), *Byzantine Studies in Honor of M.V. Anastos, Byzantina kai Metabyzantina* 4 (Malibu 1985) 65-90, at 77. For the strategic criteria behind the imperial urban and wall building program of the sixth century, see E. Zanini, "The urban ideal and urban planning in Byzantine new cities of the sixth century AD," in W. Bowden and L. Lavan (eds.), *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology, Late Antique Archaeology* 1 (Leiden 2003) 196-223. The fortification of Caesarea is reported by Procopius, *De aedificiis* 5.4. Cf. Hild and Restle, *Kappadokien* (supra this note), 130-31, 195.

⁶⁰ Niewöhner, *Aizanoi* (supra n. 31), 87-88 (squares and streets), 89 (baths), 90-91 (houses); H.G. Saradi, *The Byzantine City in the Sixth Century. Literary Images and Historical Reality* (Athens 2006) 209-352; F. Martens, "Late antique urban streets at Sagalassos," in L. Lavan, A. Sarantis, and E. Zanini (eds.), *Technology in Transition A.D. 300-650, Late Antique Archaeology* 4 (Leiden 2007) 321-65; A. Zaccaria Ruggiu, "Regio VIII" (supra n. 4); M. Waelkens et al., "Complexes" (supra n. 34).

⁶¹ F. Hild and H. Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien, Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 5 = *DenkschrWien* 215 (Vienna 1990) I 190; S. Hill, *The Early Byzantine Churches of Cilicia and*

when, after an earthquake, it was used as a dumping ground for debris.⁶² At Hierapolis in Phrygia a small bath was built up against the outer façade of the walls during the fifth or sixth century.⁶³ At Limyra the same happened with a church in the sixth century. This latter example is most instructive, because the church was leveled again some time later, possibly in conjunction with a restoration of the walls,⁶⁴ and probably because the structure was hampering defense.

I will come back to this later period at the end of this paper, but first I would like to conclude the discussion of early Byzantine walls in western Anatolia. Their utter neglect in the sixth century confirms that their building around A.D. 400 had more to do with urban embellishment than with a pressing need for fortification.

Urban embellishment came off the agenda in the fifth and sixth centuries as towns lost their key position in the administration and social life of the empire. This development has been studied by Wolf Liebeschuetz and is often referred to as the "flight of the curiales."⁶⁵ Afterwards, what remained to be built were churches.⁶⁶ As in Limyra they were often placed outside the walls. Other extramural churches may be found in Hierapolis in Phrygia, Sagalassos, and Tlos.⁶⁷ In comparison to this later development, the early Byzantine walls look like the fanciful caprices of a wave of overcharged urban building campaigns around A.D. 400.

The Countryside

This image is confirmed by the situation in the countryside. As in the territory of Miletus, recent surveys have shown that all over Anatolia the countryside witnessed an unprecedented boom in the fifth and sixth centuries.⁶⁸ In the territory of Aizanoi in Phrygia ancient settlements were confined to

Isauria, *Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs* 1 (Aldershot 1996) 92. Cf. Ephesus, where a stretch of wall had to give way to a church during the fifth/sixth century, although the neighboring gate to Magnesia had been renovated only recently: Scherrer, "Stadtmauer" (supra n. 54), 68.

⁶² Loots, Waelkens, and Depuydt, "City fortifications" (supra n. 28), 616–18.

⁶³ D. de Bernardi Ferrero, "Excavations and restorations during 1994 in Hierapolis of Phrygia," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 17.2 (1995) 95–105, at 96–97; F. D'Andria, "Hierapolis of Phrygia: Its evolution in Hellenistic and Roman times," in D. Parrish (ed.), *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor*, *JRA Suppl.* 45 (Portsmouth, RI 2001) 94–115, at 113; Arthur, *Hierapolis* (supra n. 34), 145.

⁶⁴ Borchhardt, "Bericht" (supra n. 28), 305–6; Marksteiner, "Befestigungen" (supra n. 28), 43.

⁶⁵ W. Liebeschuetz, "The finances of Antioch in the fourth century AD," *ByzZeit* 52 (1959) 344–56. Reprint in: idem, *From Diocletian to the Arab Conquest: Change in the Late Roman Empire* (Aldershot 1990) XII; A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey*, vol. 2 (Oxford 1964) 737–57; J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (Oxford 2001); A. Laniado, *Recherches sur les notables municipaux dans l'empire protobyzantin*, *TravMém Monographies* 13 (Paris 2002) 1–129; Saradi, *City* (supra n. 60), 148–85.

⁶⁶ J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, "Administration and politics in

the city of the 5th and 6th centuries with special reference to the circus factions," in C. Lepelley (ed.), *La fin de la cité antique et le début de la cité médiévale: De la fin du 3^e siècle à l'avènement de Charlemagne*, *Studi storici sulla tarda antichità* 8 (Bari 1996) 161–82, at 167–68; Niewöhner, *Aizanoi* (supra n. 31), 105; Saradi, *City* (supra n. 60), 385–440.

⁶⁷ Hierapolis, church built into the baths to the north of the Roman agora: *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* II (Stuttgart 1971) 1212–15 s. v. "Hierapolis" (P. Verzone); D'Andria, *Hierapolis* (supra n. 28), 62.

Sagalassos: P. Talloen and L. Vercauteren, "The fate of temples in Late Antique Anatolia," in L. Lavan and M. Mulryan (eds.), *The Archaeology of Late Antique "Paganism," Late Antique Archaeology* 7 (Leiden 2011) 347–87, at 352–69.

Tlos, transept basilica: W.W. Wurster, "Antike Siedlungen in Lykien," *AA* (1976) 23–49, at 37 fig. 4; Hellenkemper and Hild, *Lykien* (supra n. 25), II 886–87.

⁶⁸ J.M. Cook, *The Troad. An Archaeological and Topographical Study* (Oxford 1973) 369–73; F. Vermeulen, M. de Dapper, and T. Wiedemann, "Vers un approche géo-archéologique intégrée: le territoire antique de Pessinonte (Turquie)," in M. Clavel-Lévêque and A. Vignot (eds.), *Cité et territoire* 2 (Paris 1998) 123–39, at 132 fig. 10; J. Devreker and F. Vermeulen, "Fouilles et prospections à Pessinonte: campagne de 1996," *Anatolia Antiqua* 6 (1998) 249–58, at 257; D. Baird, "Settlement expansion on the Konya Plain, Anatolia: 5th–7th centuries A.D.," in W. Bowden, L. Lavan,

the plain. During the early Byzantine period this changed, and the mountainous regions were settled in addition to the plain. New settlements were built, each with its own church. The driving force behind this extension will have been a growing population that could no longer be accommodated and fed in the plain alone.⁶⁹ Neither Aizanoi nor the rural settlements were fortified. There was clearly no need for this in western Anatolia during the early Byzantine period.

Walls Built after Around A.D. 400

There is one more point to be made against an early Byzantine date for walls such as those in Miletus, Magnesia, Patara, Ephesus, and Side: they are stronger but less beautiful than the earlier Byzantine walls of Anatolia. Their strength derives from the greater thickness of the walls as well as from a more careful and regular arrangement of courses.⁷⁰ The careful workmanship was not restricted to the gates, as was so often the case with the early Byzantine walls that were built around A.D. 400.

In Side new walls were built across the peninsula. The towers can only be entered on the level of the walkways and have massive bases for additional strength.⁷¹ Other massive towers or bastions occur in Miletus and Patara⁷²—about Ephesus and Magnesia I do not know—but not in any earlier Byzantine walls.⁷³

and C. Machado (eds.), *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside*, *Late Antique Archaeology* 2 (Leiden 2004) 219–46; R.E. Blanton, *Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Settlement Patterns of the Coastal Lands of Western Rough Cilicia*, *BAR-IS* 879 (Oxford 2000) 60.

⁶⁹ P. Niewöhner, "Aizanoi and Anatolia. Town and countryside in late late antiquity," *Millennium* 3 (2006) 239–53, at 242–43; Niewöhner, *Aizanoi* (supra n. 31), 76–81.

⁷⁰ Ephesus: 3.3–3.4 m: W. Müller-Wiener, "Mittelalterliche Befestigungen im südlichen Jonien," *IstMitt* 11 (1961) 5–122, at 88.

Magnesia: 2.5–3 m: Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger, *Magnesia* (supra n. 24), 33.

Miletus: 1.80–2.60: Knackfuß, *Milet I* 7 (supra n. 1), 154 pls. 2, 25.

Patara: 1.70–2.50 m: M. Kunze, "Bericht über die Arbeiten im archäologischen Gebiet von Patara während der Grabungskampagnen 1993–1996," *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 19.2 (1998) 61–79, at 63; Bruer and Kunze, *Stadtplan* (supra n. 25).

Side: 2.15–2.40 m: Hellenkemper and Hild, *Lykien* (supra n. 25), I 386; Peschlow, "Mauerbau" (supra n. 6), 73–74, 91–102 figs. 5–6, 9, 12, 26. Cf. M. Klinkott, *Altortümer von Pergamon XVI. Die Stadtmauern. Teil 1. Die byzantinischen Befestigungsanlagen von Pergamon* (Berlin 2001) 19 f. 97, who dates some walls to the Dark Ages, because they are thicker, have a stronger masonry, and contain more spolia.

Compare the earlier Byzantine walls:

Blaundos: 1.30–1.90 m (first phase; later repairs are up to 2.10 m thick): Filges, "Stadtmauer" (supra n. 39), 70, 72–74, 76.

Hierapolis in Phrygia: 2.5 m: D'Andria, *Hierapolis* (supra n. 28), 115.

Limyra: 1.60–1.75 m: Peschlow, "Befestigungen" (supra n.

25), 604 no. 25; Marksteiner, "Befestigungen" (supra n. 28), 43. Sagalassos: 2 m: Loots, Waelkens, and Depuydt, "City fortifications" (supra n. 28), 619.

Sardis: 1.25–2.10 m: Hanfmann, Thomas, and Van Zanten, "City walls" (supra n. 28), 39; "on the average somewhat less than two metres": Foss and Winfield, *Fortifications* (supra n. 17), 127.

Tlos: "ca. 1.85–2.00 m": Peschlow, "Befestigungen" (supra n. 25), 608 no. 53.

⁷¹ Hellenkemper and Hild, *Lykien* (supra n. 25), I 387; Peschlow, "Befestigungen" (supra n. 25), 609; Peschlow, "Mauerbau" (supra n. 6), 72–74.

⁷² Miletus: the tower-like corner bastion between the temple of Serapis and the Baths of Faustina. Other towers could be entered: B. Walter, *Milet II 4. Topographische Karte von Milet* (Berlin 1968). Patara: Hellenkemper and Hild, *Lykien* (supra n. 25), II 784; Bruer and Kunze, *Stadtplan* (supra n. 25).

⁷³ The earlier towers included an accessible ground floor: Anemurium: Russell, "Garrison" (supra n. 28).

Amorium: Harrison, "Amorium excavations 1990" (supra n. 28), 223 fig. 4; N. Christie and R.M. Harrison, "Excavations at Amorium: 1992 interim report," *AnatSt* 43 (1993) 147–62, at 151.

Aphrodisias: Giese, "Baugeschichtliche Einordnung" (supra n. 28), 123; De Staebler, "City wall" (supra n. 28), 296–304.

Blaundos: Giese, "Nordtor" (supra n. 38), 86–101.

Constantinople: Meyer-Plath and Schneider, *Landmauer* (supra n. 42), 71–81.

Hierapolis in Phrygia: Giese, "Baugeschichtliche Einordnung" (supra n. 28), 123.

Laodicea on the Lycus: Şimşek, *Laodikeia* (supra n. 28), 103–11.

Limyra: Krickel and Schartner, "Osttor" (supra n. 38), 368–71.

As for beautification, the builders of the later walls had no qualms about mixing any kind of building material (see figs. 2, 7). The round sections of column drums are exposed everywhere, at the base as well as further up in the wall.⁷⁴ The careful workmanship was not extended to the visual aspect, and gates are no longer exceptional. Some gates are flanked by a single tower as in Miletus (see figs. 2–3), but they make no claim to monumentality, let alone the Hellenistic tradition.

To sum up, the later walls are fundamentally different from those built around A.D. 400. It follows that the earlier wall-building does not make a sixth-century date for the later walls of Miletus any more likely. On the contrary, the sixth-century disregard for the earlier fortifications weighs heavily against a contemporary date for the new wall-building program. We may therefore return to the assumption that the later walls were not built before the seventh century.

Conclusions

The Market Gate at Miletus was probably fortified during the Dark Ages, when the permanent Arab threat necessitated a short circuit that could be manned at all times. The Arabs ruled the sea and could attack instantly.⁷⁵ Such *razzias* will have left coastal cities such as Miletus, Ephesus, Magnesia, Patara, and Side no time to assemble the troops necessary to defend the extended fortifications of late antiquity and the early Byzantine period; hence the shorter circuits that could be held by a small local garrison.⁷⁶ Their simplicity—few towers, no sophisticated gates—is well suited to the ephemeral character of the Arab *razzias*. The Arabs counted on taking the Byzantines by surprise and would not normally bother with the kind of siege that only more sophisticated fortifications could resist.

With this functional explanation for the character and date of the earlier Byzantine fortifications of Anatolia we may return to the beginning of this paper and ask: does it solve the riddle of the Market Gate? It seems advisable to postpone a final verdict until solid evidence has been unearthed by stratigraphic excavation. This kind of evidence is unlikely to turn up in Miletus, however; most of the circuit was already excavated over a century ago, when stratigraphy was less carefully recorded than today, and in any case the stratigraphy is complicated by the fact that the Byzantine walls are founded directly on much earlier walls.⁷⁷ It is to be hoped that some other short Byzantine circuit at Ephesus, Magnesia, Patara, Side, or elsewhere will eventually be excavated and dated.

7

Survey Evidence for Late Antique Settlement in the Region around Aphrodisias

Christopher Ratté and Peter D. De Staebler

The city was the fundamental social institution of Greek and Roman culture. More than the sack of Rome, the transformation of provincial towns throughout the Mediterranean world in late antiquity marks the beginning of the Middle Ages. The cities of western and southern Asia Minor were among the last holdouts of traditional Mediterranean urban life outside the capitals, but it is now generally agreed that they were all in large part abandoned in or before the first half of the seventh century. Much else remains hotly debated—why this transformation took place; whether it unfolded suddenly, or gradually, over generations or even centuries; and how to characterize the communities that remained in places such as those examined in this volume. In short, to borrow from the title of a recent German conference, is it better to speak of “Niedergang,” or of “Wandel?”¹ The goal of this paper is to investigate the case of Aphrodisias, and in particular, to suggest how regional survey can contribute to the study of “de-urbanization” here and throughout Asia Minor.

First a few words on what has been learned from excavation at the city site of Aphrodisias, and from study of the sculpture and inscriptions. As Charlotte Roueché and R.R.R. Smith have shown, the culture of monuments—the commemoration of civic good deeds by long and fulsome inscriptions, the erection of honorific statues—remained strong at Aphrodisias into the sixth century.² Re-examination of the excavated monuments has shown that the same is true of the maintenance of public buildings.³ Particularly notable was the conversion of the Temple of Aphrodite into a Christian church in ca. A.D. 500. A century to a century and a half later, by contrast, circumstances had changed dramatically. The latest coins in the debris levels found in most areas of the site all date to the reign of Heraclius. Habitation continued only in the area of the theater, converted into a fortified citadel, and in the environs of the temple/church, also partly or wholly surrounded by a post-antique enclosure wall, although the date of that wall is uncertain.

What happened between the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the seventh? The carving of statues and inscriptions came to a virtual halt in the early sixth century, and with it any documentary evidence for the erection or maintenance of public buildings. Does this mean that Aphrodisias had already begun to cease functioning as a city by this time? Should we imagine that urban markets and workshops, educational and recreational institutions, the roads, the water supply, and the drainage system, all started to break down at this time as well? Or was the disappearance

¹ J.-U. Krause and C. Witschel (eds.), *Die Stadt in der Spätantike—Niedergang oder Wandel? Historia Einzelschriften* 190 (Stuttgart 2005).

² C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity, JRS Monograph* 5 (London 1989) and revised second edition online (2004) <<http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/alaz2004>> ISBN 1897747 17 9. R.R.R. Smith, “Statue life in the Hadrianic Baths at Aphrodisias, AD 100–600: Local context and historical meaning,” in

F.A. Bauer and C. Witschel (eds.), *Statuen in der Spätantike, Spätantike, frühes Christentum, Byzanz. Reihe B, Studien und Perspektiven*, Band 23 (Wiesbaden 2007) 203–35, with references to earlier studies.

³ C. Ratté, “New research on the urban development of Aphrodisias in late antiquity,” in D. Parrish (ed.), *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor, JRA Suppl.* 45 (Portsmouth, RI 2001) 117–47.

Sagalassos: Loots, Waelkens, and Depuydt, “City fortifications” (supra n. 28), 619–20.

Sardis: Hanfmann, Thomas, and Van Zanten, “City walls” (supra n. 28), 43 fig. 12.

⁷⁴ Patara: Isık, *Patara* (supra n. 25), 104 fig. 83, 128 fig. 96; Peschlow, “Befestigungen” (supra n. 25), 612–13 figs. 2–3; Bruer and Kunze, *Stadtplan* (supra n. 25).

Side: Hellenkemper and Hild, *Lykien* (supra n. 25), III figs. 336–39; Peschlow, “Mauerbau” (supra n. 6), 74, 91–102 figs. 5–6, 9, 25–26.

⁷⁵ Supra n. 23; V. Christides, “Arab-Byzantine struggle

in the sea. Naval tactics (7th–11th centuries A.D.),” in Y.Y. al-Hijji and V. Christides (eds.), *Aspects of Arab Seafaring. An Attempt to Fill in the Gaps of Maritime History* (Athens 2002) 87–106.

⁷⁶ P. Niewöhner, “Archäologie und die ‘Dunklen Jahrhunderte’ im byzantinischen Anatolien,” in J. Henning (ed.), *Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium*. Vol. 2, *Byzantium, Pliska, and the Balkans, Millennium Studies* 5 (Wiesbaden 2007) 119–58.

⁷⁷ Niewöhner, “Mauern” (supra n. 1).

in rural population corresponding to the decrease in urban population in late antiquity. On this evidence, the large-scale abandonment of Aphrodisias in the early seventh century does not seem to represent simply a dramatic change in settlement pattern, in which a constant regional population redistributed itself differently across the landscape. Rather, it seems to mark a real and significant reduction in population. This could be the result of a variety of factors, including increased mortality, or migration. It could be the result of a declining birth rate and lower life expectancy that had been building up for generations. But it is worth remarking that of the classic explanations for the collapse of the populations of towns like Aphrodisias the only one that would have produced a sudden and significant increase in mortality, especially in urban populations, is the plague.¹³

The plateau southwest of Aphrodisias exhibits a different pattern. At Bingeç, occupation seems to have been constant from the Hellenistic period to late antiquity, as at Aphrodisias. At the nearby village of Görle, also the site of a Hellenistic and Roman town, there are numerous architectural blocks inscribed with Christian symbols, and a large rock-cut tomb cemetery, including one Hellenistic tomb which preserves later painted fresco decoration, tentatively dated to the ninth century¹⁴—to date, this is the only painted Byzantine tomb known in the region around Aphrodisias. The evidence for middle Byzantine churches at the sites of three modern villages comes from middle Byzantine architectural blocks built into modern houses, a practice not attested at any of the present-day villages in the valley to the north.¹⁵ In addition, we have identified at least two settlements that seem to have been occupied throughout the Roman period (Bo51 and Fo09), and one large olive oil factory (Fo10), which was developed in the late Roman period, and may have been associated with rural production of olive oil for the capital in Constantinople.¹⁶

If habitation in the region substantially retreated in the late Roman and Byzantine periods to the plateau south of the Morsynus river valley, that, like the increased density of settlement in the floor of the valley in the imperial period, would conform to an understandable pattern. This area could never have sustained the Roman-era population of the region, but perhaps it was adequate to the needs of the greater part of the region's much smaller population in the Dark and Middle Ages—to whom it offered the advantages of a more remote and protected location, the same advantages that explain why it was the principal focus of Hellenistic settlement. At and around Aphrodisias, then, just as at thousands of rural communities throughout the Roman empire, the situation in post-Roman times may have borne interesting similarities to that of the pre-Roman era.

The sketch provided here is only that—a reconstruction that is historically plausible, and that is consistent with the available evidence. Dissatisfying as this may seem in some respects, it remains the case that the kinds of questions raised at the beginning of this paper can only be addressed by the investigation of much larger areas, approximately 800 km² in the case of Aphrodisias, than are practical for doctrinaire intensive survey. For this reason, any attempt to answer these questions will have to rely on extrapolation from a relatively small data set. But if comparable results are obtained by surveys at a number of sites, we will be in a better position to draw more robust conclusions from those results.

¹³ On the effects of the plague at Aphrodisias, see Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (supra n. 2), 140. For possible archaeological evidence in the form of a cluster of infant burials in the substructures of the bouleuterion, see N. Hudson, "Three centuries of Late Roman pottery," in Ratté and Smith, *Aphrodisias Papers* 4 (supra n. 10), 319–45, at 322–24.

¹⁴ Dalgiç, "Early Christian churches" (supra n. 8).

¹⁵ An exception is a middle Byzantine lintel block built into a house at the village of Gökçeler in the southeast corner of the Morsynus river valley, but according to the local inhabitants, the block was actually transported to Gökçeler from Aphrodisias!

¹⁶ I. Lockey, "Olive oil production and rural settlement," forthcoming in Ratté and De Staebler, *Aphrodisias* V (supra n. 5).

8

Buildings and Citizens: Observations from Late Antique and Byzantine Blaundos in Phrygia

Axel Filges

In this paper, I will discuss fieldwork and the attempt to reconstruct urban history from ruins remaining above ground.¹ Buildings or their remains as documented and interpreted during every urban survey offer valuable information as witnesses to historical processes. In addition to simple description, documentation of these buildings often provides absolute or at least relative dating evidence in the form of stylistic or construction details. The "sum total" of the different monuments of a city reveals information about changes in the structure of the city over the course of centuries. Such studies become even more important when they are seen not as an end product but as the starting point to yet other investigations.² One point of special interest in the present paper is the question of how well the life of an isolated small village, situated in an impoverished region, fits with or diverges from current views about the late antique cities of Asia Minor in general.³ Before presenting some aspects of the archaeology of late antique Blaundos, it is first essential to explain the situation of the city in earlier periods.

Blaundos in the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial Eras

The investigated ruins are situated in the Turkish province of Uşak, approximately 40 km south of the provincial capital of the same name and 200 km east of İzmir.⁴ The city was first settled in the Hellenistic period and continued to exist as a community at least until A.D. 900, probably even until A.D. 1200.

Blaundos is located on a high plateau surrounded on three sides by steep bluffs (fig. 1). The area occupied by the ruins of the city, both on the plateau and on the slopes below, spread over 820 by 520 m at its greatest extent. The city was situated several kilometers away from the nearest major trade route. Thus it can be assumed that it was not a regular station for traveling traders. The hinterland today is not very productive and was probably comparable during the Roman imperial

¹ Most of this text is identical with the paper given in Ann Arbor on 9 January 2008, but footnotes and some remarks have been added. A German version is published in N. Burkhardt and R. Stichel (eds.), *Die antike Stadt im Umbruch*, Kolloquium Darmstadt Mai 2006 (Wiesbaden 2010) 154–64. I would like to express my thanks to the organizers and editors both for the invitation to the congress in Ann Arbor as well as for the revision of my English version of this paper.

Abbreviations for frequently cited sources: *Blaundos, Berichte* = A. Filges (ed.), *Blaundos. Berichte zur Erforschung einer Kleinstadt im lydisch-phrygischen Grenzgebiet, IstForsch* 48 (Tübingen 2006).

² For prescriptions on the reconstruction of political and social landscapes from the results of topographical surveys see L. Lavan, "Late Antique urban topography. From architecture to human space," in L. Lavan and W. Bowden (eds.), *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology, Late Antique Archaeology* 1 (Leiden and Boston 2003) 171–95, at 176–81.

³ M. Waelkens, "The late antique to early Byzantine city in southwest Anatolia. Sagalassos and its territory: A case study," in J.-U. Krause and C. Witschel (eds.), *Die Stadt in der Spätantike—Niedergang oder Wandel? Historia Einzelschriften* 190 (Stuttgart 2006) 208.

⁴ For the geographical setting, see the maps by D. Roos in *Blaundos, Berichte*, figs. 1, 13.

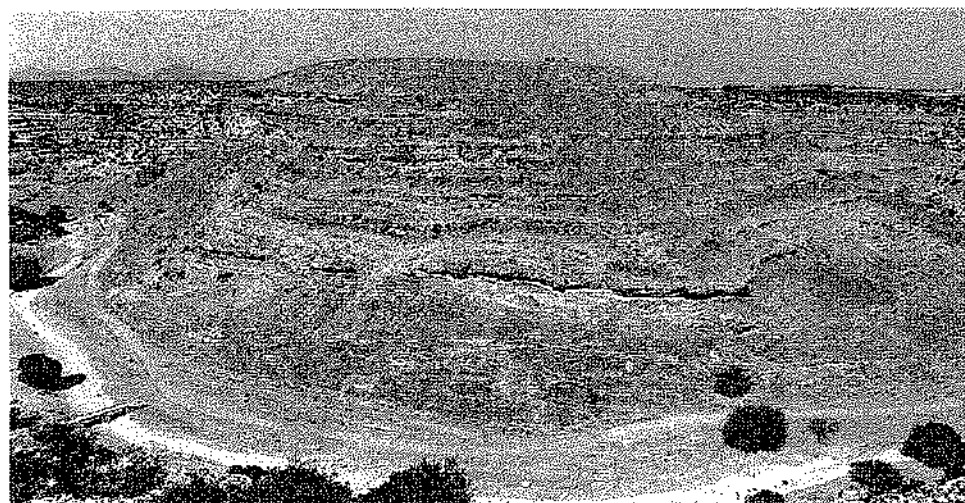


Fig. 1. Overall view from the south, showing the steep slope and the habitation area on the plateau (A. Filges).

period. Nevertheless, there is no explanation I can offer for the high quality marble buildings (fig. 2) other than that farming, animal husbandry, and probably vine cultivation were sources of a certain considerable prosperity.

The Hellenistic settlement is known only from pottery and coins. Not a single surviving building or architectural fragment can be considered to belong to this period. However, this early settlement, which carried the native Luvian name Mlaundos, is known from Roman imperial inscriptions, where it is mentioned as a Macedonian military outpost. Such outposts were numerous in western Asia Minor.⁵ The natural protection afforded by the steep slopes of the canyons on three sides made this a suitable site for such an installation.

The settlement made a tremendous—and archaeologically well-attested—advance in its development during the last third of the first century A.D., especially in the Flavian era. Within this period most of the public buildings were erected, out of, as it seems, a kind of urban nothingness, which may have been the result of damage caused by an earthquake known to have occurred in the A.D. 60s.⁶

One characteristic of Blaundos during the first two centuries A.D. attested in the inscriptions from the site is the large proportion of persons of Italic origin. Roman influence can also be seen in other details: of the 55 fragments of inscriptions from Blaundos, at least seven display a Latin text, including two bilingual temple building inscriptions.⁷ The construction of two temples with their very tall relief friezes follows the style of the capital of the Roman empire more closely than local traditions.⁸ In addition, the oblong forum with the basilica on one of its narrow sides also points to the Italic west.⁹

⁵ A. Filges, "Stadtentwicklung im Gebiet des oberen Mäander. Die lydisch-phrygische Grenzregion am Beispiel von Blaundos," in E. Schwertheim and E. Winter (eds.), *Stadt und Stadtentwicklung in Kleinasien, Asia Minor Studien 50* (Bonn 2003) 37–43; idem, "Von Mlaundos zu Blaundos. Literarische Quellen und Überlegungen zur frühen Geschichte bis zur Integration in das pergamenische Reich," in *Blaundos, Berichte*, 17–21; idem, "Die Fundkeramik," in *Blaundos, Berichte*, 304–10.

⁶ A. Filges, "Blaundos im Laufe der Zeiten," in *Blaundos, Berichte*, 312–15.

⁷ F. von Saldern, "Die Inschriften des Ceres-Tempels," in *Blaundos, Berichte*, 189–97, 321–50.

⁸ A. Filges, "Der Tempel 1 (Ceres-Tempel)," in *Blaundos, Berichte*, 175–76.

⁹ D. Roos, "Das Steinfachwerk-Gebäude," in *Blaundos, Berichte*, 212–15.

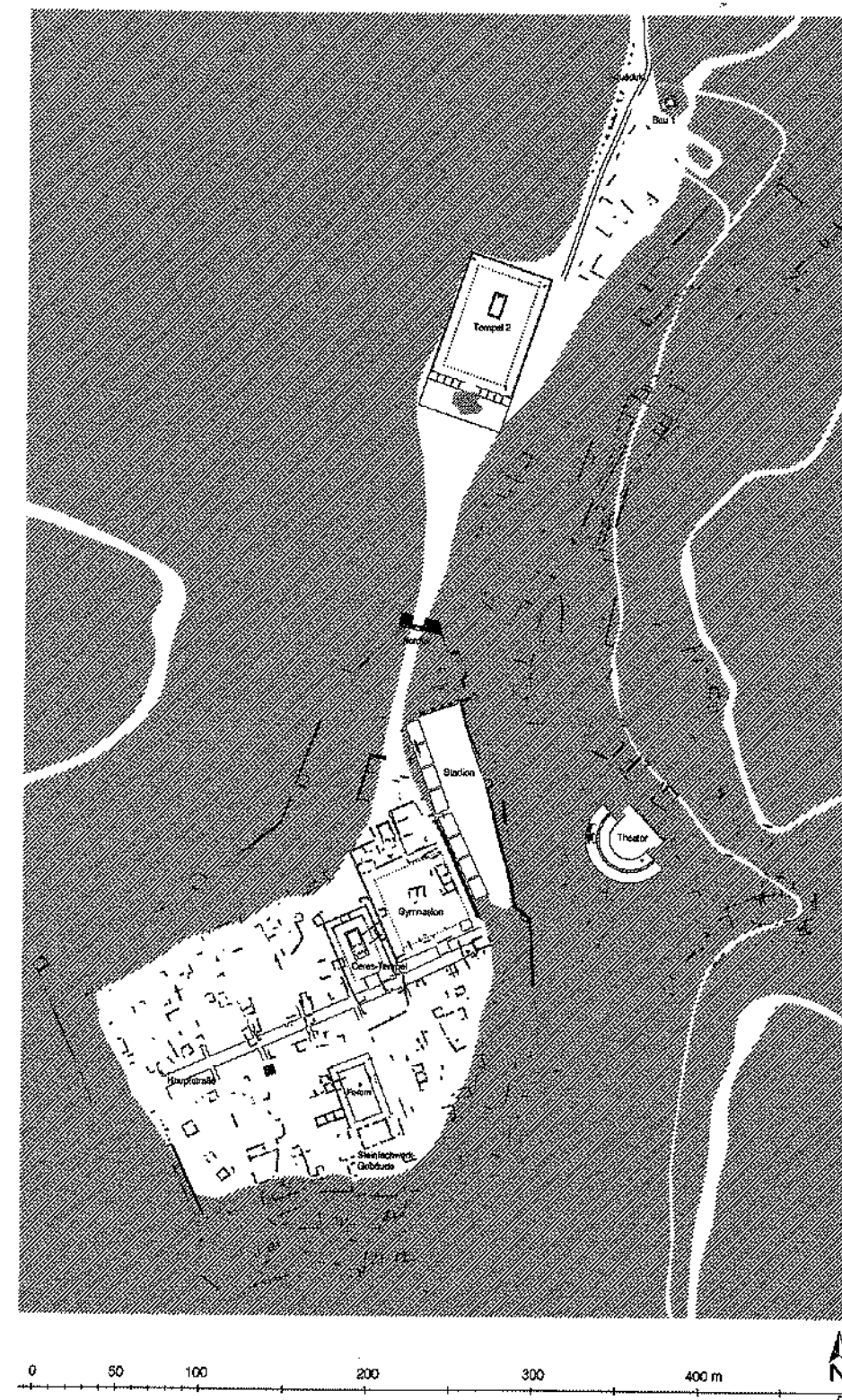


Fig. 2. City map with public areas in red (D. Roos).



Fig. 3. Center of Blaundos from the northeast with the northern gate in the foreground and the so-called Doric Portico in the middle (A. Filges).

Apart from this Italic influence, however, inspiration from the cities of the Maeander valley can be seen clearly in the halls, built of yellow marl, on both sides of the main street (fig. 3).¹⁰ Identical framings of the main streets, consisting of colonnades with halls and shops, built from the same materials and with the same structures, were erected during the last decade of the first century in Hierapolis, Laodikeia, and Tripolis, cities which all lie in the Maeander valley, approximately 50 km to the south.¹¹ In spite of its geographical location, therefore, it is clear that this small town was by no means culturally isolated.

Three centuries later, this textbook metropolis "en miniature" experienced a second important impulse for development. With this, we reach the principal topic of this paper, the small town of Blaundos during the late antique period.

Blaundos in Late Antiquity

Written sources including Stephanos of Byzantium, council or synod files, and ecclesiastical registers (the *Notitiae Episcopatum*), repeatedly mention certain variations of the village's name, as well as single persons who are connected with Blaundos.¹² These are of little help, however, in the attempt to recreate the life of the town in late antiquity.

Analysis of ceramic finds (identifiably late Roman/late antique sherds make up at most 10 per cent of the total of the pottery from the site, and consist mainly of large dishes) reveals that they were produced in Phocaea (Phocaeen Red Slip), the most important regional center of production, supplying most of western Asia Minor. This fact shows that a regular connection to long distance trade was maintained into late Roman times.¹³ Inscriptions from the late antique and Byzantine periods are rare in Blaundos and are mainly found in connection with graves.¹⁴ Surprisingly, only one inscription is identifiably Christian.

¹⁰ Filges, "Stadtentwicklung" (supra n. 5), 44–45; idem, "Zeiten" (supra n. 6), 318–20.

¹¹ D. Roos and A. Filges, "Die 'Dorische Portikus' und die Hauptstraße von Blaundos," in *Blaundos, Berichte*, 198–204.

¹² In the council files, three bishops are mentioned for the fifth century A.D. and one for both the eighth and the

ninth centuries: A. Filges, "Das byzantinische Blaundos in Schriftquellen und Karten," in *Blaundos, Berichte*, 26–27.

¹³ Filges, "Fundkeramik" (supra n. 5), 309.

¹⁴ F. von Saldern, "Katalog der Inschriften," in *Blaundos, Berichte*, 344 nos. 37–39.

Now I would like to direct attention to two groups of monuments dated to the late antique or early Byzantine period, which survive in the form of different kinds of walls: these are the fortifications of the town, with its city wall and gate, and the structures in the town center, which belong mostly to dwellings.

The City Wall

I turn first to the best-preserved building, the northern gate, which was the main gate to the town.¹⁵ Situated on the narrowest part of the plateau (only 10 m wide), the gate is positioned optimally from a strategic point of view. The plateau's width of approximately 22 m, and the local topography with its steep slopes, make it nearly impossible to circumvent the gate structure with its two differently sized projecting towers (fig. 4). On the exterior, the space between the two towers forms a small courtyard in front of the actual entranceway, which consists of a rectangular doorframe leading to a barrel-vaulted passage. On the interior, the back walls of the towers are flush with the connecting wall, so that the gate presents a continuous façade.

All the blocks of the gate are marl spolia; only three blocks of marble are visible. The secondary character of the materials is shown by the integration of ornamented and misappropriated elements as well as the numerous lewis holes on the exposed surfaces.¹⁶

The exterior doorway to the 2.5 m-wide passage is spanned by a horizontal arch. The east tower exhibits a large opening towards the town, made of reused archivolts. A reconstruction of the history of the gate by Jürgen Giese interprets the structure as a well-fortified autonomous complex within the town's defensive system.¹⁷ Each tower originally consisted of several stories, accessible only by ladders. There were embrasures on the third floor, and platforms on the fourth floor (the top floor) for the operation of larger defensive artillery. Above the gate passage, the top floors of the towers were connected by a battlement parapet.

I close this section with a few notes on the city's circuit wall, which is 1250 m long. In the east and west, it follows the edge of the plateau. In some parts, just above the bluffs, the wall is founded directly on the bedrock. For this reason, it is not surprising that large parts of the wall are missing, as they were washed into the canyons over the course of the centuries. Only in the south were attempts undertaken to build a wall that climbs up and down the hill in order to include as much of the hillslope as possible.

The City and City Wall

The next question to be addressed is how the fortification relates to the rest of the town. The map shows that the wall divides the imperial city into two parts (fig. 5). The gate is located at a strategic point of the plateau, with the wall enclosing the bowl of a spoon, as it were, but not its handle. Large parts of the earlier town, including the presumptive main sanctuary of Apollo and the theater, were excluded (fig. 6). There is reason to believe that the ashlar stones reused in the gate came from the quadriporticus of the temenos of the sanctuary of Apollo.

Another public structure whose function is usually significant, the aqueduct, was obviously no longer in use when the fortification walls were built.¹⁸ Indeed, the archivolts of the north tower display exactly the same dimensions as the only preserved arch of the aqueduct, and it can be assumed that they come from this monument.

Thus it is clear that buildings with a variety of different functions, such as the theater, sanctuaries, and other official structures, were deliberately quarried for building materials for the fortification

¹⁵ See the detailed analysis by J. Giese, "Das Nordtor," in *Blaundos, Berichte*, 79–110.

¹⁶ Ibid., 110–12.

¹⁷ Ibid., 109, fig. 100.

¹⁸ P. Baumeister, "Die Wasserversorgung," in *Blaundos, Berichte*, 261, 267.

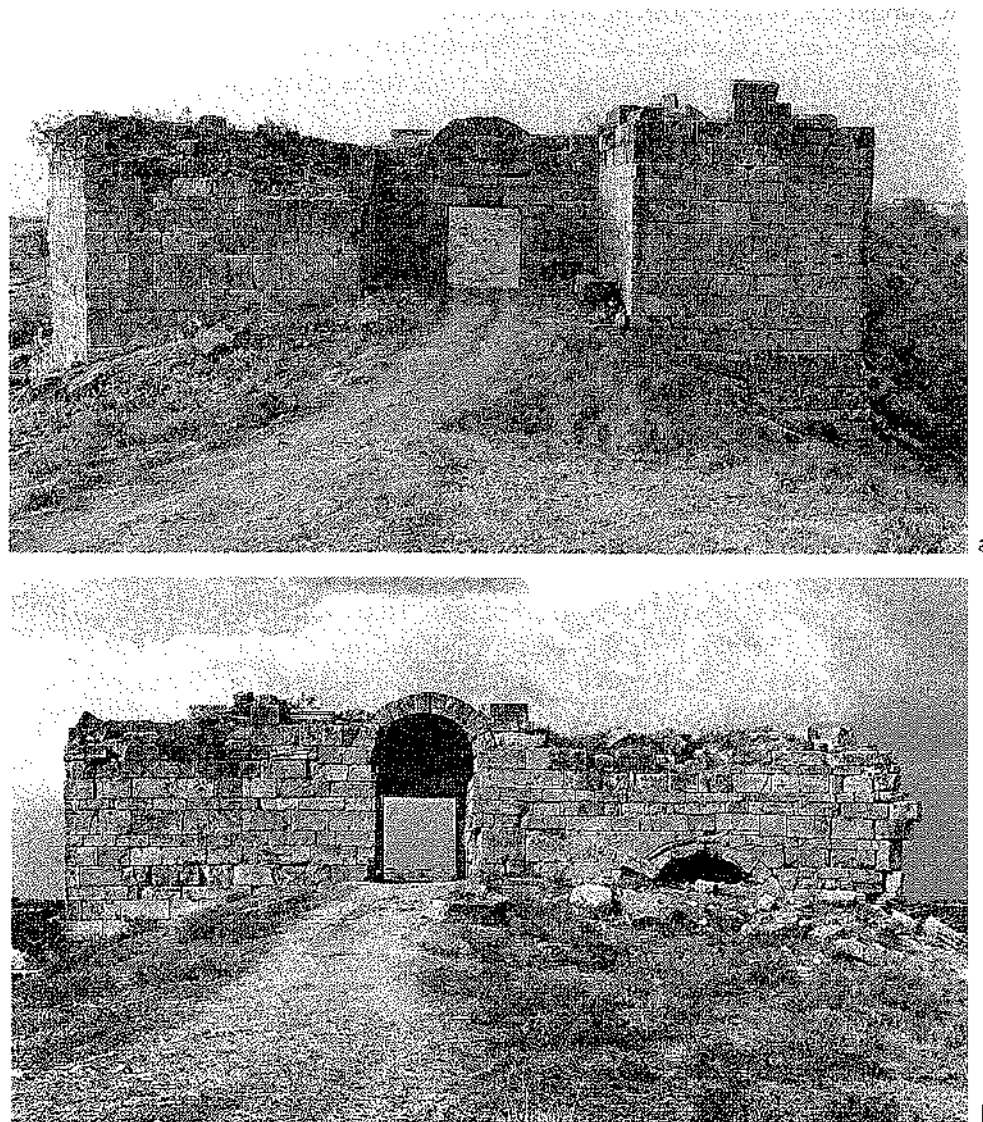


Fig. 4a-b. Northern gate, external (a) and internal (b) views (A. Filges).

of the town. It is possible that these structures were exploited because they were no longer required, or because they were already out of use. Especially for the aqueduct, the latter seems to be the case, as it seems unlikely that the means for supplying fresh water to the town was dismantled solely so that its materials could be used in the construction of the fortifications.

Initially, only materials from buildings excluded from the newly fortified city were used in the construction of the walls. Only with later modifications to the wall did people begin to use material from within the town itself. For example, the seat-blocks from the stadium were reused for a secondary reconstruction of a part of the wall originally situated slightly further down-slope.¹⁹ The town

¹⁹ A section of 125 m of the city wall in the northeastern area was cut; in the second phase, the wall runs farther to the west at a higher level up the slope (A. Filges, "Die

Stadtmauer: Mauerring und Türme," in *Blaundos, Berichte*, 69-70, figs. 54-56).

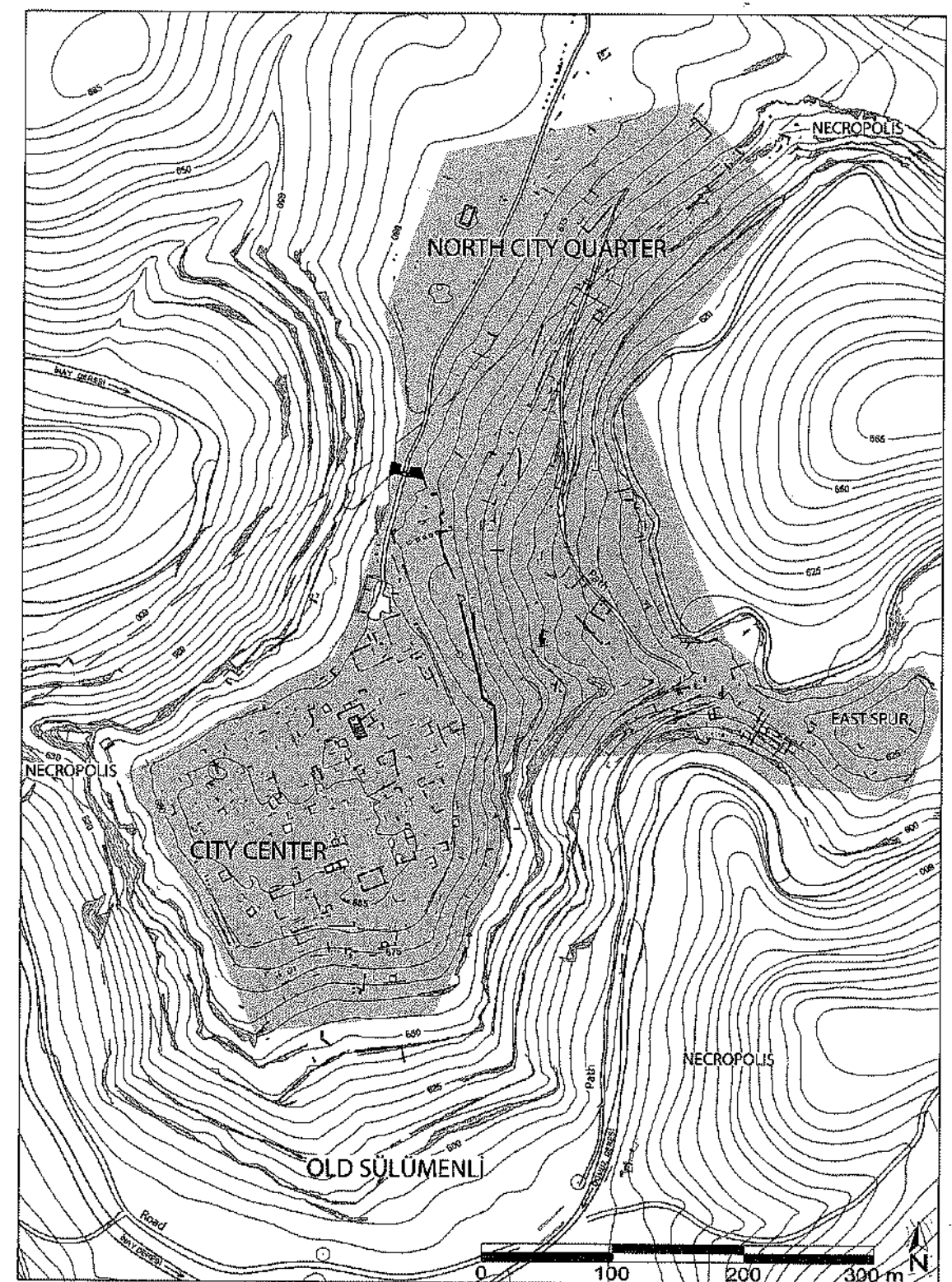


Fig. 5. Habitation area in the first and second centuries A.D. (modified plan: J. Giese).

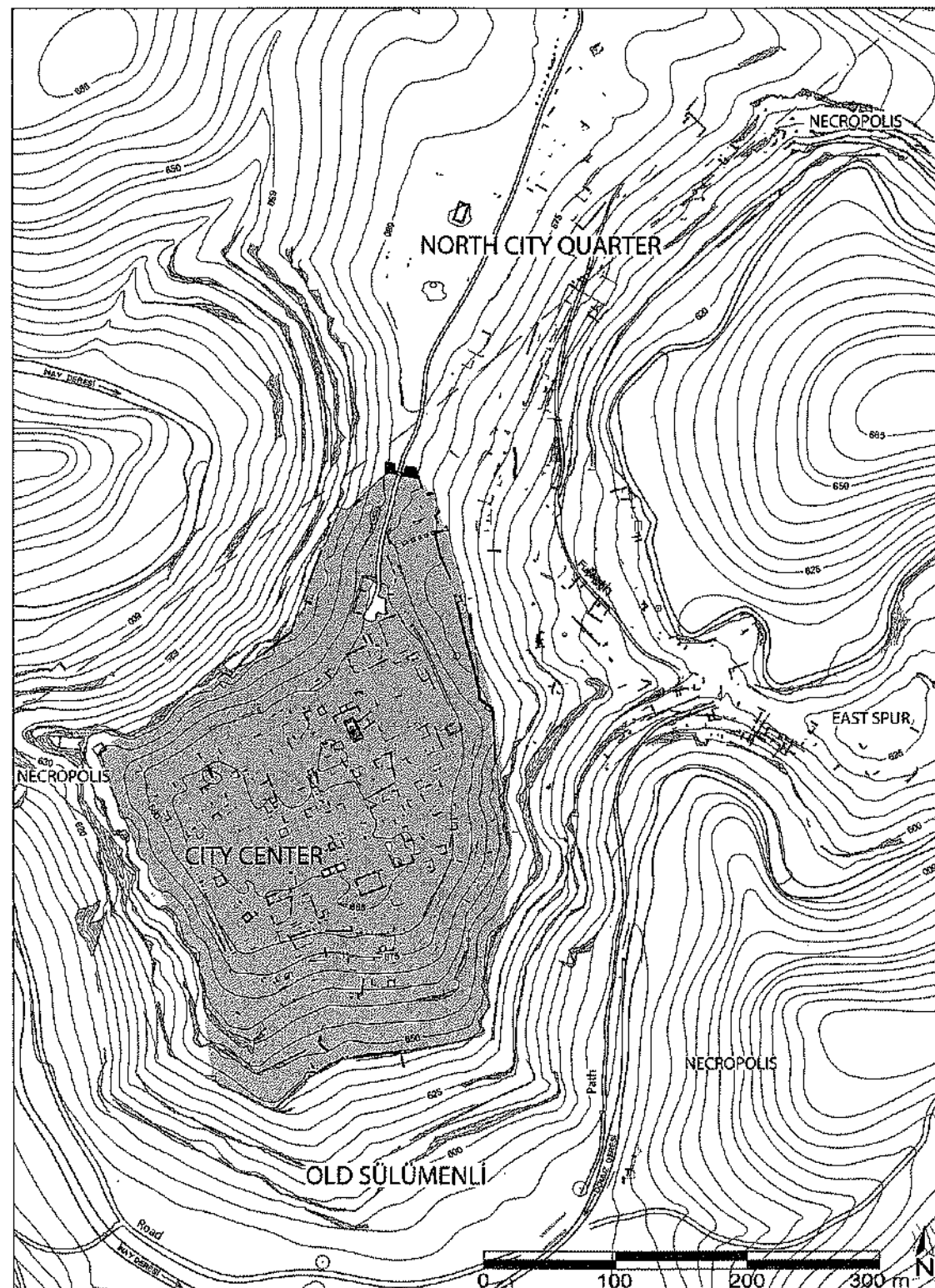


Fig. 6. Habitation area in the sixth century A.D. (modified plan: J. Giese).

used up the available building materials first from the outside, then from the inside, thus slowly but gradually consuming itself.

Trying to Date the City Wall

Now I shall attempt to date the construction of the wall more precisely. It is a well-known phenomenon, both in western Asia Minor and in other parts of the empire, that most towns that originally did not have city walls—such as Blaundos—eventually began to invest the necessary money and labor required for the building of such fortifications. It seems plausible that fortifications became necessary only when the *pax Romana* drew towards a close, and armed invaders made the defense of life and possessions mandatory. The earliest such invaders were apparently the Goths, whose raids led them as far as Ionia during the second half of the third century. After A.D. 396, a law of Arcadius regulated the response to external threats, and the erection of city walls became obligatory. Funds for these buildings were to come from well-situated local landowners.²⁰

It is hard to judge today, whether in less important and more isolated regions, migrating groups such as the Goths were regarded as concrete threats or rather as symbols of a more general latent peril. However, towns were secured, and Blaundos did not stand alone. Hierapolis, Tripolis, Laodikeia, and Philadelphia also display very similar fortifications. Traditionally, scholars have dated all these wall projects to around A.D. 400, on the basis of the date assigned to the walls of Hierapolis—a date that was itself based on the aforementioned law and did not consider internal factors.²¹

The chronology of the fortifications of Blaundos should be reconsidered in light of the now relatively well-dated wall of Aphrodisias.²² During the third quarter of the fourth century, not only was the construction of the city wall taking place, but also new buildings were being built within the town. For Aphrodisias, it seems that after the crisis of the third century, an economic boom began. In my opinion, this allows for the general hypothesis that many city fortifications in Asia Minor were not built during times of threat, but during times of prosperity, initiated by imperial investments, as is witnessed for Aphrodisias.²³ Another example for dating fortifications as early as the fourth century is the wall of Sagalassos, which has been dated to the final quarter of the fourth century on the evidence of stratified coin finds.²⁴ Unlike Aphrodisias, the urban area was reduced, as was also the case in Blaundos. On this point, different towns used different strategies. Some were enclosed completely, some only partially.²⁵ But the reduction of the urban area itself seemed to be the most practical solution in the long run, as was the case in Asia Minor regularly from the sixth to the eighth centuries.²⁶

For Blaundos itself, it is assumed by analogy with the aforementioned cities that its walls were erected during the second half of the fourth century.²⁷ For this small town, the erection of the city wall certainly meant a large effort with a high cost. Unfortunately, we do not know whether the money came from the people of the town itself or whether it was granted from outside.

²⁰ A. Demandt, *Die Spätantike, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaften* III 6 (Munich 1989) 402.

²¹ See Giese, "Nordtor" (supra n. 15), 119–20.

²² P.D. De Staebler, "The city wall and the making of a late-antique provincial capital," in C. Ratté and R.R.R. Smith (eds.), *Aphrodisias Papers 4. New Research on the City and its Monuments*, *JRA Suppl.* 70 (Portsmouth, RI 2008) 284–318.

²³ C. Ratté, "New research on the urban development of Aphrodisias in late antiquity," in D. Parrish (ed.), *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor*, *JRA Suppl.* 45 (Portsmouth, RI 2001) 125–30.

²⁴ L. Loots, M. Waelkens, and F. Depuydt, "The city fortifications of Sagalassos from the Hellenistic to the Late Roman period," in M. Waelkens and M. Loots (eds.), *Sagalassos V* (Leuven 2000) 614–19.

²⁵ This phenomenon was already observed in the 1980s: W. Müller-Wiener, "Von der Polis zum Kastion," *Gymnasium* 93 (1986) 453–57, fig. 7; W. Brandes, *Die Städte Kleinasien im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert* (Amsterdam 1982) 82–111.

²⁶ See also the remarks by P. Niewöhner in this volume.
²⁷ This is the result of Giese's detailed analysis ("Nordtor" [supra n. 15], 122), with which I totally agree.

Citizens and Fortifications

What does the city wall tell us more generally about the town and its citizens in the second half of the fourth century? In the first place, the course chosen for the line of the wall prompts speculation about the status and influence of certain citizens. Given that the northern part of the town was still inhabited when the wall was built, the conscious abandonment of at least some immobile goods in case of attack is implied. The terrain next to the sanctuary of Apollo is uneven and slopes down both eastwards and westwards. It was still possible to erect houses in this location, but conditions were not ideal, and I would suggest therefore that the citizens who lived here belonged to the less rather than the more privileged sectors of the population. This assumption is supported by an analysis of the course of the wall, which does not follow the edges of the

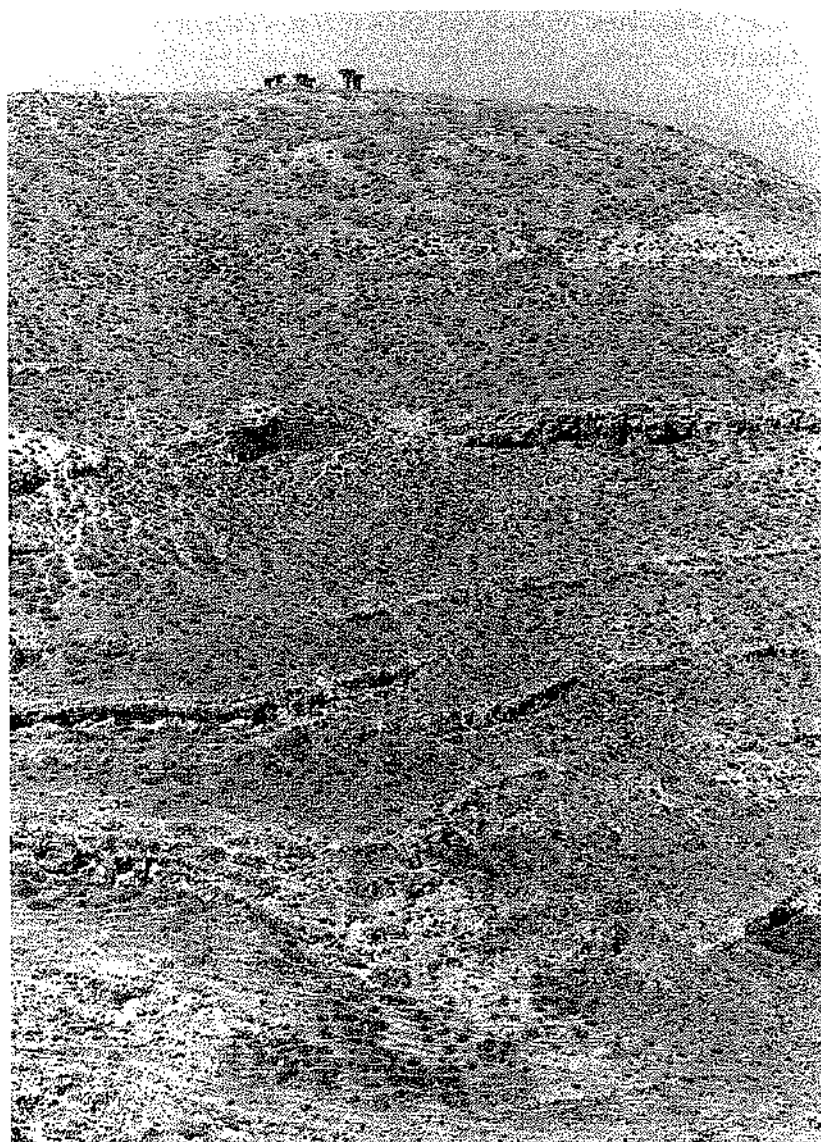


Fig. 7. Detail of the south slope with the city wall below the plateau (A. Filges).

center of town (the most sensible course for the purposes of fortification),²⁸ but instead appears to cover as much of the southern plateau as possible (fig. 7). This was only possible by building the wall across a number of precipices, a very laborious process.

By way of explaining the preference given to the southern plateau, I would like to offer a suggestion that complements the suggestions made above in discussion of the northern area. In general, in Greek and Roman antiquity, a southward orientation for private houses was preferred. For Blaundos and other cities, this means that those premises that allowed for a southward orientation of a house were the most valuable. The gently sloping hillside just beneath the southern edge of the plateau of

²⁸ Giese, "Nordtor" (supra n. 15), 115.

Blaundos with its attractive view toward the canyon and the adjacent valley can be considered the best "address" for private houses. Thus it is likely that the most important families lived here. That this area was not abandoned despite its defensive weakness reveals, in my opinion, the influence that the urban elite had on the course of the wall. The hypothesis seems to be permitted that citizens of this social class also financed its construction.

The layout of city walls thus helps illuminate the social topography of the city. What if anything does it tell us about demographic change? Several explanations can be given for the exclusion of a large part of the built-up area:

- 1) The population had diminished in the fourth century from its level in the imperial period. This diminution could be attributed to a lower birth rate or to higher mortality.²⁹ The space inside the wall was sufficient for the remaining people.
- 2) The rural population had emigrated to the provincial metropolis before the late antique period, as has recently been postulated for the sixth century by Mark Whittow.³⁰ Thus, the space within the city walls would also have been sufficient.
- 3) The urban citizens of all classes had left for good or for the time being for the chora.³¹ An edict by Constantine from A.D. 321, which prohibited the removal of columns and marble building elements from the towns into the country,³² could be regarded as an official response to, and therefore as evidence for, this tendency. Blaundos would then have been merely a place to retreat to, in case of attack.³³
- 4) However, it also seems possible that little had changed concerning the number of people who lived in the town and the location of the houses. The population of the northern outskirts would have lived a carefree and content life, and only when attacked would they have been forced to retreat behind the city walls and leave their belongings and houses unprotected.

Which one of these scenarios—or what combination of several—might have happened, we cannot yet decide. However, I think it is important to list and postulate the possibilities. This gives us a basis upon which we can discuss and modify our ideas and models of urban history.

Blaundos in the Late Antique and Early Byzantine Periods

Dwellings

Let us now turn to the buildings that occupy the center of town.³⁴ On the whole plateau only a few remains of walls are preserved above ground. In the frame of our urban survey, these remains were studied by Ute Schwertheim, and I would like to present a summary of her results.

As building material for the residential houses, spolia as well as undressed blocks of marl were used. The construction of walls is uniform. They are usually ca. 70 cm wide. Their interior and exterior

²⁹ In Aphrodisias there is no longer any reason to postulate a shrinking number of citizens: Ratté, "Research" (supra n. 23), 138.

³⁰ M. Whittow, "Recent research on the late-antique city in Asia Minor: The second half of the 6th c. revisited," in L. Lavan (ed.), *Recent Research in Late-Antique Urbanism*, JRA Suppl. 42 (Portsmouth, RI 2001) 151.

³¹ F.R. Trombley, "Town and territorium in Late Roman Anatolia (late 5th to early 7th c.)," in L. Lavan (ed.), *Recent Research in Late-Antique Urbanism*, JRA Suppl. 42 (Portsmouth, RI 2001) 230. For Aphrodisias, see Ratté, "Research" (supra n. 23), 147; this interpretation was reconsidered in C. Ratté, "Aphrodisias," in W. Radt (ed.), *Stadtgrabungen*

und Stadtforschung im westlichen Kleinasien. Geplantes und Erreichtes, International Symposium Bergama, 6–7 August 2004, *Byzas* 3 (Istanbul 2006) 48.

³² Demandt, *Spätantike* (supra n. 20), 285.

³³ From the start the Blaundos survey project intentionally concentrated on the city center, although this meant neglecting the environs: A. Filges, "Blaundos," in W. Radt (ed.), *Stadtgrabungen und Stadtforschung im westlichen Kleinasien. Geplantes und Erreichtes*, International Symposium Bergama, 6–7 August 2004, *Byzas* 3 (Istanbul 2006) 58–59.

³⁴ See the detailed analysis by U. Schwertheim, "Die spätantik-byzantinische Bebauung," in *Blaundos, Berichte*, 216–22.

faces are not tied together; that is, there are no headers extending through the full thickness of the walls. Only rarely are in-fills of mortar and gravel found. Spolia were used at the corners and doorways. Unfortunately, without excavation, we cannot determine the heights of the walls with respect to the original ground surface, but it is assumed that they represent the lower parts of the buildings.

In total, around 100 rooms of residential buildings can be reconstructed (fig. 8). Two-thirds display a square outline, though they lack properly right-angled corners. The floor spaces of the rooms measure between 4 and 64 m². The remains allow for the reconstruction of different types of houses: most common were one-room houses, followed by two-room houses. The latter type shows several variations in how the two rooms were combined, meaning that in some cases rooms are situated at catcorners to each other. Interesting is the type where three rooms are set in a row, where we assume that the middle one was probably an unroofed courtyard. We can also reconstruct some special types of houses, including two houses which are trapezoidal in outline, and some buildings with more than three rooms.

It is difficult to date the buildings that were constructed after the imperial era. The fact that in Blaundos bricks are rarely found in wall construction may be significant. In Pergamon, this is a characteristic feature of early Byzantine walls. However, it is not clear that the same held true for Blaundos. Most likely, the available building material will have had a certain influence on the construction of the walls. Nevertheless, the obvious absence of pottery from Byzantine times compared to the abundance of ceramics of the fourth to sixth centuries seems to be significant.³⁵ This could imply a decreasing importance and population from the sixth century onward.

Structural Changes in the Layout of the City

More informative for the topic of this colloquium is the overall character of late antique development of the town center. The open spaces of the sanctuaries, the main street and its colonnades, and the other streets were all filled in with new buildings.

The structure of the town thus changed fundamentally. The formerly planned and grid-patterned town with its strong composition of public and open spaces and private buildings (see fig. 2) was transformed into a town with a much more loosely-patterned arrangement of buildings, nearly like a dispersed settlement (see fig. 8). This late transformation, which I date to the period following the erection of the city walls, seems to have abjured large buildings as well as large open spaces, except for the forum.³⁶ Whether the population no longer attached any great value to "representative" buildings is as yet unclear.

Conclusions

What kinds of answers can a small town such as Blaundos provide to general questions about the transition from the Roman imperial to the late antique and Byzantine city in Asia Minor? This short section may function as something of a summary, albeit one that concentrates on specific questions.

Continuity of Types of Construction and Abandonment of Older Buildings

The one element of the city that continued unchanged into Byzantine times was the central square formed by the relatively small forum of Blaundos. It was probably never overbuilt, though its function during late antique and Byzantine times is uncertain. Otherwise, it seems to have been easy to put older building components to new uses. Many older structures were apparently abandoned, a supposition that is corroborated by the incorporation of building elements of public structures into



Fig. 8. Plan of dwellings, probably early Byzantine (U. Schwertheim and J. Giese).

³⁵ Filges, "Fundkeramik" (supra n. 5), 310.

³⁶ Roos, "Steinfachwerk-Gebäude" (supra n. 9), 204-15.

the fortification walls. Whether these monuments were out of use before being dismantled for building material is not known.

Processes of Rearrangement

The rearrangement of living space and reorganization of the town structure seems to have been accomplished in several steps: the erection of the city walls emphasized one part of the city at the expense of the other, and led to a significant reduction in size. What might have happened to the contemporary residential buildings, we do not know. Instead, we know only the remains of the last period of the town's occupation, which may be dated to late antique or early Byzantine times. This phase is characterized by a conscious defiance of former structural principals. Most of the open squares and streets were built over. The settlement on the plateau thus took on an unstructured but relatively homogenous appearance.

New Types of Buildings

New types of buildings were developed in the fourth century, of which the most striking example is the city wall with its grand northern gate. In addition, later residential buildings do not seem to follow the rules of their unknown predecessors, since room numbers and arrangements are characteristic for Byzantine, but not for Roman imperial settlements.

Conflicts and Breaks

Since the pagan temples were excluded from the city and so presumably no longer in use when the city walls were built in the second half of the fourth century, a break in religious tradition is implied. Interestingly, however, there is almost no contemporary or later archaeological evidence for Christianity at Blaundos, although some bishops of Blaundos are mentioned in the literary sources. While the city wall as a whole can be taken as a witness to the existence of an impending external threat, the shift of the town's center towards the south implies a latent conflict between different status groups within the population of the town. The enlargement of the southern plateau to protect the richer citizens required extreme efforts, while other parts of the city were left unprotected from potential threats.

Summing Up: The Value of Ruins

To use architectural remains as the sole source of evidence for the reconstruction of the history of a city, as has been done in this paper, poses obvious dangers of misinterpretation. However, these are the only sources of information currently available for Blaundos, as well as for many other late antique and Byzantine settlements.

In cases such as these, surface investigation can provide a reasonably complete picture of a city at the time it was abandoned. For more detailed and more precise diachronic as well as synchronic reconstructions of cities and their citizens' social lives, however, surface investigation must be supplemented by the excavation of subsurface remains.

9

Troy and the Granicus River Valley in Late Antiquity

Charles Brian Rose

I have had the good fortune of conducting fieldwork in two unusually historic areas during the last two decades: Troy and the Granicus river valley, neither of which has traditionally been noted for its late Roman settlements.¹ What I have found, in the course of two decades of excavation, is that the evidence from the two areas is complementary; placing them side by side, as I will do here, yields a relatively clear diachronic overview of settlement patterns in the Troad from the third to the seventh century. I begin with an outline of our excavations at Troy and then conclude with recent discoveries between the Granicus and Aesepus rivers.

Ilion's prominence during the Hellenistic and Roman periods was tied to its identification as the site where the Trojan War had taken place (figs. 1–3).² The date at which this identification first occurred is unclear, but it was in place by the early archaic period, and the late Bronze Age fortification walls, which were always partly visible, constantly reminded visitors of the site's Homeric heritage.³ That heritage was responsible for a series of high profile visits over the next millennium, as well as a wealth of benefactions. Xerxes stopped here in 480 B.C. on his way to sack Greece, as did Alexander on his way to conquer the Persians.⁴ Specific areas of the site were subsequently tied to key episodes in Trojan mythology; Caesar, for example, was shown the spot from which Zeus carried off Ganymede, the place where Anchises and Aphrodite made love, and the site of the Judgment of Paris.⁵ Meanwhile, the tumuli lining the Dardanelles came to be associated with the burial mounds of the Homeric heroes, who included Ajax, Patroclus, and Achilles, among others.⁶

Both Augustus and Hadrian visited the site, and their statues have been found during excavations in the agora at Ilion.⁷ Augustus assisted in the restoration of the acropolis following the devastation

¹ I would like to thank Christopher Ratté and Ortwin Dally for organizing this conference; Robert Ousterhout, Lee Striker, and Ray Van Dam for advice on various points raised in this article; and Gabriel Pizzorno for having prepared the map.

² For an overview of the post-Bronze Age excavations at Ilion, see C.B. Rose, "The Granicus River Valley Archaeological Survey Project, 2004–2005," *Studia Troica* 17 (2007) 65–150. For the Granicus river valley, see C.B. Rose and R. Körpe, "The Granicus River Valley Survey Project, 2006," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 25.2 (2007) 103–16.

³ M. Basedow, "What the blind man saw: New information from the Iron Age at Troy," in C. Mattusch, A. Brauer, and A.A. Donohue (eds.), *Common Ground: Archaeology, Art, Science, and Humanities. Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Boston, August 23–26, 2003* (Oxford 2006) 88–92; C.B. Rose, "Separating

fact from fiction in the Aeolian migration," *Hesperia* 77.3 (2008) 399–430.

⁴ Xerxes: Herodotus 7.43; Alexander: Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.11.7–8; Diodorus 17.17.6–7, 17.18.1; Strabo 13.1.26; Plutarch, *Alexander* 15.7.

⁵ Lucan, *Civil War* 9.970–73.

⁶ J.M. Cook, *The Troad* (Oxford 1973) 159–65; C.B. Rose, "The 1998 post-Bronze Age excavations at Troy," *Studia Troica* 9 (1999) 35–71, at 61–63; idem, "Greek, Roman, and Byzantine research at Troy, 1999," *Studia Troica* 10 (2000) 53–72, at 55–56.

⁷ Augustus: H. Halfmann, *Itinera Principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im Römischen Reich* (Stuttgart 1986) 158; IGR 4.203; Hadrian: Philostratus, *Heroicus* 137; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950) 613, 1470 n. 6; Halfmann, *Itinera* (supra this note), 43, 191.

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³ M. Basedow, "What the blind man saw: New information from the Iron Age at Troy," in C. Mattusch, A. Brauer, and A.A. Donohue (eds.), *Common Ground: Archaeology, Art, Science, and Humanities. Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Boston, August 23–26, 2003* (Oxford 2006) 88–92; C.B. Rose, "Separating

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⁴ Xerxes: Herodotus 7.43; Alexander: Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.11.7–8; Diodorus 17.17.6–7, 17.18.1; Strabo 13.1.26; Plutarch, *Alexander* 15.7.

⁵ Lucan, *Civil War* 9.970–73.

⁶ J.M. Cook, *The Troad* (Oxford 1973) 159–65; C.B. Rose, "The 1998 post-Bronze Age excavations at Troy," *Studia Troica* 9 (1999) 35–71, at 61–63; idem, "Greek, Roman, and Byzantine research at Troy, 1999," *Studia Troica* 10 (2000) 53–72, at 55–56.

⁷ Augustus: H. Halfmann, *Itinera Principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im Römischen Reich* (Stuttgart 1986) 158; IGR 4.203; Hadrian: Philostratus, *Heroicus* 137; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950) 613, 1470 n. 6; Halfmann, *Itinera* (supra this note), 43, 191.

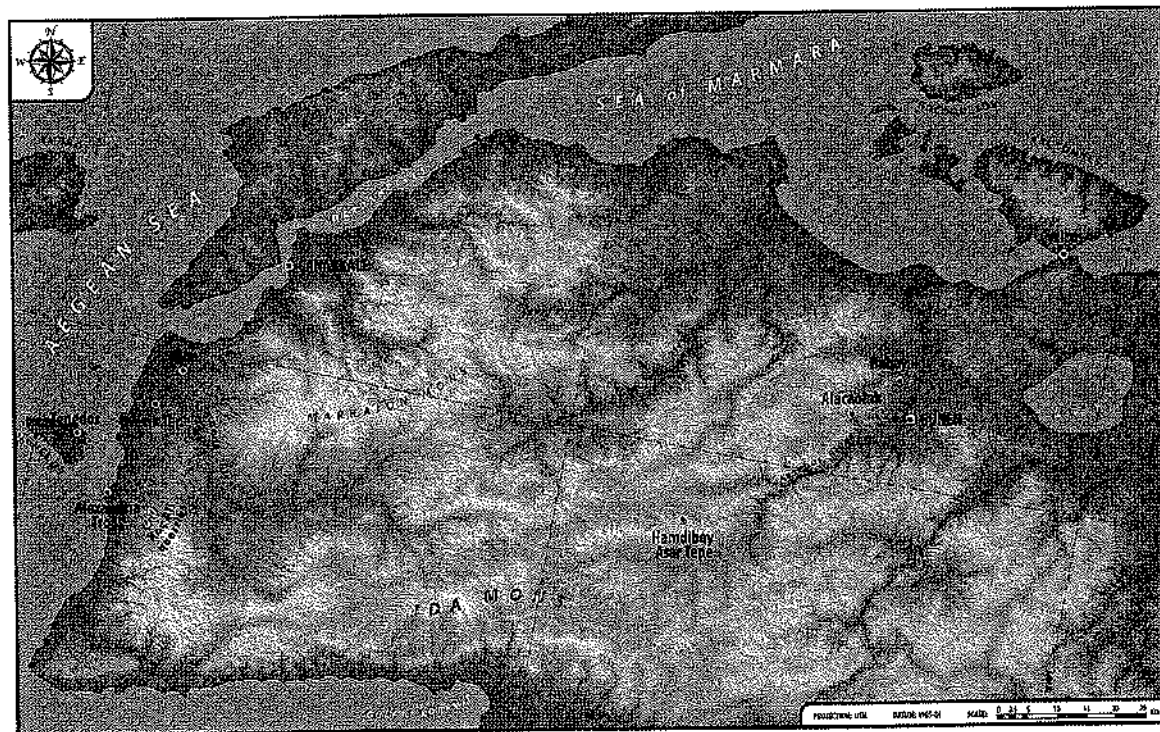


Fig. 1. Map of the Troad (G. Pizzorno).

of the Mithridatic Wars, and Hadrian restored the tomb of Ajax; both reaffirmed Ilion's status as a free and federate city, as did most other members of the imperial family who traveled there.⁸ As the mother city of the Romans, it had a privileged status similar to that of Aphrodisias.

At some point toward the end of the second century A.D. there was a major catastrophe at Ilion, possibly caused by an earthquake, although that is merely a guess.⁹ The destruction hit both the public and private areas of the city, and there are enormous pits that represent massive cleanup operations in the early third century.¹⁰ Assistance may have been provided by the emperors Caracalla and Macrinus. During Caracalla's visit to Ilion he reportedly honored Achilles with sacrifices and races in armor around the latter's alleged tomb, as Alexander had done 550 years earlier, and set up a bronze statue of Achilles. He also constructed an enormous tumulus for his recently deceased freedman named Festus, now known as Uveciktepe (fig. 4).¹¹ This is the largest of the Troad tumuli,

⁸ C.B. Rose, "Ilion in the early empire," in C. Berns (ed.), *Patris und Imperium. Kulturelle und politische Identität in den Städten der römischen Provinzen Kleinasien in der frühen Kaiserzeit* (Leuven 2002) 33–47, at 44–45; W. Aylward, "The portico and propylaea of the sanctuary of Athena at Ilion," *Studia Troica* 15 (2005) 160–61. Hadrian was referred to as "restitutor coloniae suae" at Alexandria Troas: A. Riel, *The Inscriptions of Alexandria Troas* (Bonn 1997) 229, T124; CIL 3.7282.

⁹ B. Tekkök, S. Wallrodt, C. Günden, and C.B. Rose, "Two Roman wells in the Lower City of Ilion. Quadrats C29 and w28," *Studia Troica* 11 (2001) 343–82, at 344.

¹⁰ C.B. Rose, "The 1996 post-Bronze Age excavations at

Troy," *Studia Troica* 7 (1997) 73–110, at 102; idem, "The 1997 post-Bronze Age excavations at Troy," *Studia Troica* 8 (1998) 71–113, at 102; idem, "1998 excavations at Troy" (supra n. 6), 35–71, at 52.

¹¹ Caracalla: Dio 78.16.10; Herodian 4.8.4–5; Cook, *Troad* (supra n. 6), 172–73; Halfmann, *Itinera* (supra n. 7), 224; Rose, "1996 excavations at Troy" (supra n. 10), 101–2; idem, "1997 excavations at Troy" (supra n. 10), 96–97; S. Alcock, "Material witness: An archaeological context for the *Heroikos*," in E. Bradshaw Aitken and J.K. Berenson Maclean (eds.), *Philostratus' Heroikos. Religion and Cultural Identity in the Third Century C.E.* (Leiden 2005) 159–68, at 161–62.

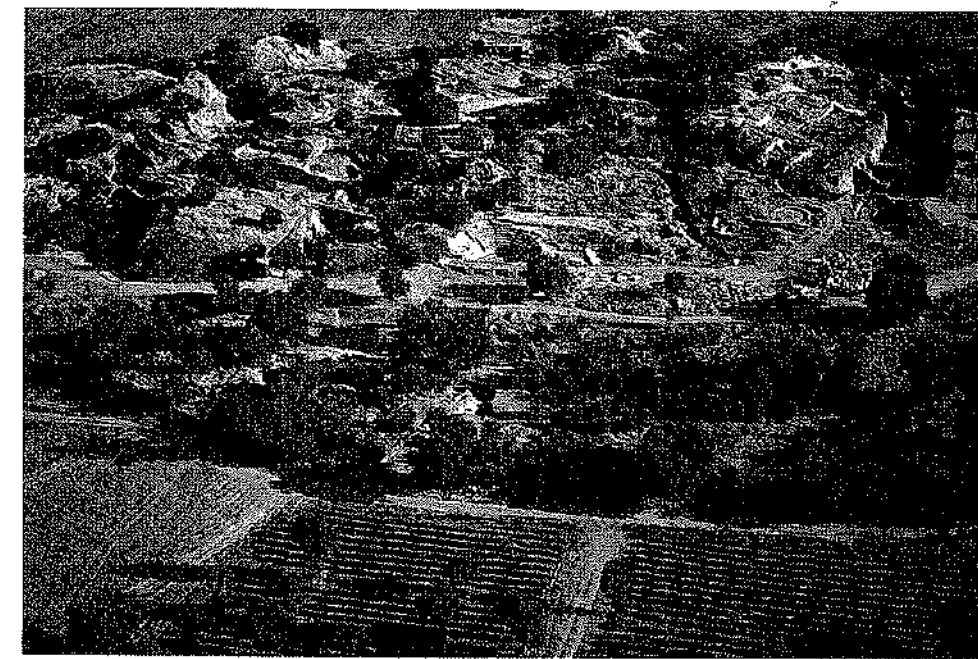


Fig. 2. Aerial view of Troy (Troy Excavation Project).

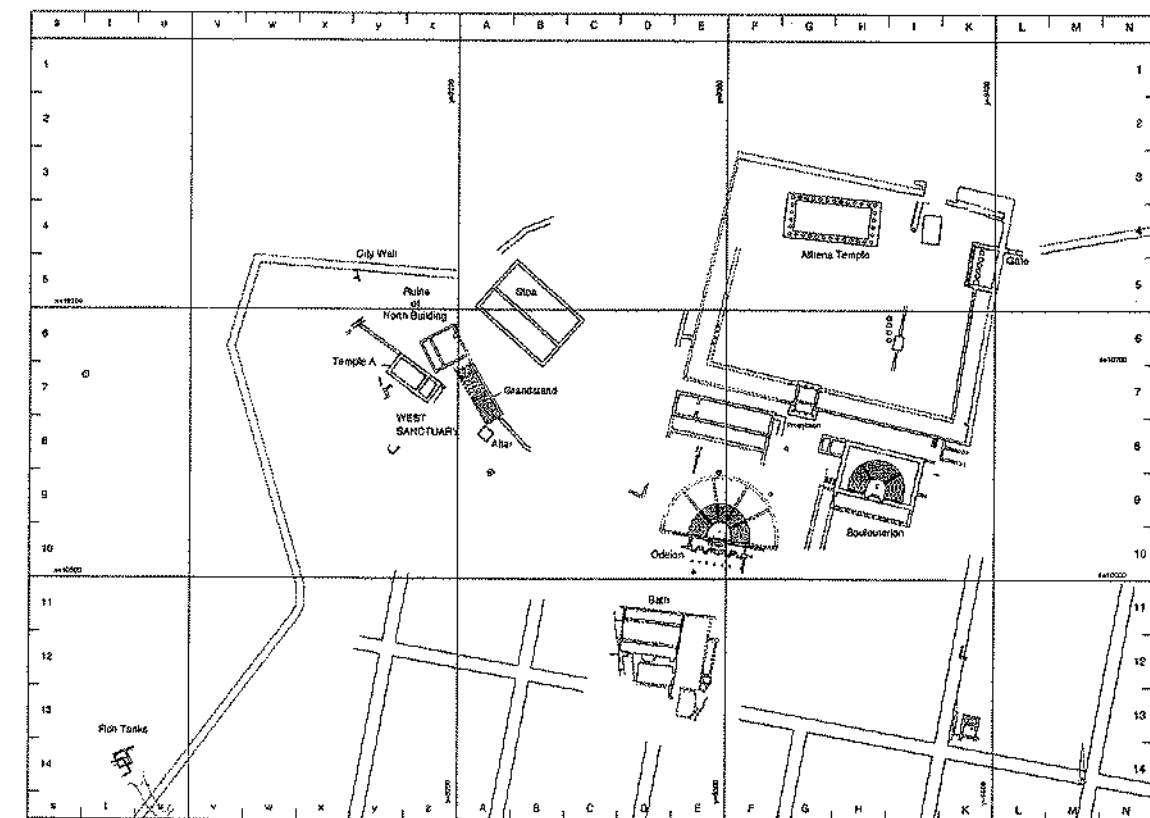


Fig. 3. Plan of Troy IX (Troy Excavation Project).



Fig. 4. Uveciktepe, the tumulus of Festus (courtesy Rüstem Aslan).

nearly 25 m high, and it represents yet another attempt on Caracalla's part to link himself to the Homeric tradition by echoing the mourning of Achilles for Patroclus.

An inscription recently discovered in the earthquake collapse of the Odeion also indicates the involvement of Macrinus, the praetorian prefect who had Caracalla murdered in A.D. 217 (fig. 5).¹²

Αὐτοκρά[τωρ Καῖσαρ]
Μάρκος Ὀ[πέλλιος]
Σεουήρο[ς Μακρεῖνος]
Εὐσεβής [-----]
[-----]ο[ς]α [-----]

Macrinus occupied the throne for only 14 months and suffered a senatorial *damnatio memoriae* after his assassination, so few dedications to him have been recovered.¹³ The most interesting feature of the Troy inscription is that Macrinus's name appears in the nominative case, which indicates a dedication on his part. The nature of the dedication would have been described in the now missing lower section of the inscription, but there is enough evidence to suggest that the benefaction in question may relate to the Odeion. Beneath the marble paving at the west end of the stage were enough coins and pottery to indicate that the stage received its final form during the reign of Caracalla, or

¹² Rose, "1997 excavations at Troy" (supra n. 10), 96–97; SEG 48 (1998) no. 1478.

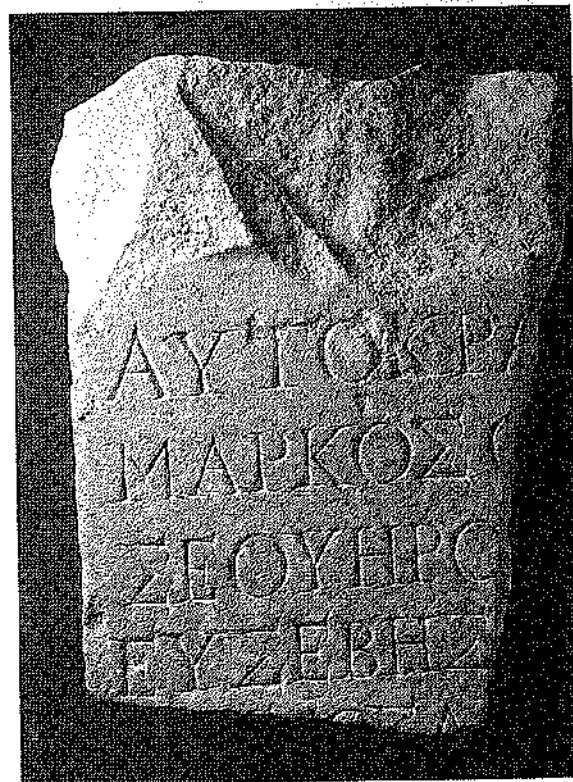


Fig. 5. Inscription of Macrinus (Troy Excavation Project).

¹³ Dio 79.2.5–6; P. Cuvuoto, *Macrinus* (Naples 1983) 42–48, 61.

shortly thereafter, as did the portico that separated the Odeion from the agora. Given the findspot of Macrinus's inscription, it is possible that the city recognized him for assistance that was actually offered by Caracalla.¹⁴

During the Severan period there was also a substantial reconstruction of two buildings that lined the agora. In the Antonine baths, on the southern side of the agora, a new apsed hall nearly 16 m wide was divided by two parallel colonnades and paved in marble, thereby replacing an earlier building decorated with mosaics of boxers, bath attendants, and pygmies, among others.¹⁵ It would have been fed by water from an imposing aqueduct bridge with a span of 16 m, still standing in the village of Kemerdere, which formed part of a water system 20–30 km in length that channeled water from the Ida mountains.¹⁶

Our best evidence for reconstruction during the first half of the third century appears in the residential area of the Lower City, south of the citadel. Magnetic prospection, conducted over the course of 15 years, has revealed the entire plan of the Roman residential district (fig. 6).¹⁷ A network of insulae covered nearly the entire area within the confines of the city wall. The insula system measures 900 m east-west and slightly over 700 m north-south, encompassing as many as 72 insulae of different sizes across a total area of about 45 ha. Although housing in this area began in the third century B.C., shortly after the city wall was built, the most active period of construction was the second quarter of the third century A.D. It was only at this time that occupation in the Lower City became dense, with the walls of one building abutting another. A network of new stone-paved streets, nearly 5 m wide, was also laid at this time.¹⁸ The density of new housing at Ilion points to a significant influx of people into Ilion during the second quarter of the third century, and the ceramic record suggests a simultaneous rise in the local economy.

Also constructed at or near this time were a series of fish tanks in front of the Spring Cave on the southwestern side of the Lower City, 180 m from the citadel (figs. 3, 7). The walls of these basins feature terracotta tubes blocked at one end, which indicates their function as fresh water fish farms, wherein the tubes would have provided shade for the fish. Similar basins have been excavated in Crete, Egypt, and Italy, among others, but the Trojan examples seem to be the only ones found thus far in Asia Minor.¹⁹

The cave is one large aquifer, with water seeping from its walls and roof, and tool marks visible throughout the interior reflect an attempt to increase the amount of water it discharged. The entrance corridor branches off into three passages, each with smaller dependent corridors, and the central one extends for a length of over 100 m. Cut into the roof of the central passage at staggered intervals are four funnel-shaped shafts intended to channel groundwater into the cave's main corridor, and

¹⁴ W. Aylward, *The Roman Agora at Ilion and its Predecessors* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cincinnati 2000) 140.

¹⁵ C. W. Blegen, "Excavations at Troy 1932," *AJA* 36 (1932) 445–46; idem, "Excavations at Troy 1933," *AJA* 38 (1934) 223–48, at 244–46; C. W. Blegen, J. Caskey, M. Rawson, and J. Sperling, *Troy I. The First and Second Settlements* (Princeton 1950) figs. 117–19; Aylward, *Ilion* (supra n. 14), 154–63.

¹⁶ Aqueduct: W. Aylward, G. Bieg, and R. Aslan, "The aqueduct of Roman Ilion and the bridge across the Kemerdere valley in the Troad," *Studia Troica* 12 (2002) 397–427.

¹⁷ P. Jablonka, "Ausgrabungen südlich der Unterstadt von Troia im Bereich des Troia VI—Verteidigungsgrabens.

Grabungsbericht 1994," *Studia Troica* 5 (1995) 39–79, at 49; C.-S. Giese Huebner, "Geomagnetische Prospektion 2002 bis 2005 in der Unterstadt von Troia," *Studia Troica* 16 (2006) 125–29; H. G. Jansen, "Das unsichtbare Troia sichtbar gemacht—Chancen und Ergebnisse der Anwendung neuer Prospektionsmethoden," in M. O. Korfmann (ed.), *Troia. Archäologie eines Siedlungshügels und seiner Landschaft* (Mainz 2006) 309–16.

¹⁸ Rose, "1998 excavations at Troy" (supra n. 6), 52–54.

¹⁹ Ibid., 55–61. For the type, see J. Higginbotham, *Piscinae: Artificial Fishponds in Roman Italy* (Chapel Hill 1997) passim.

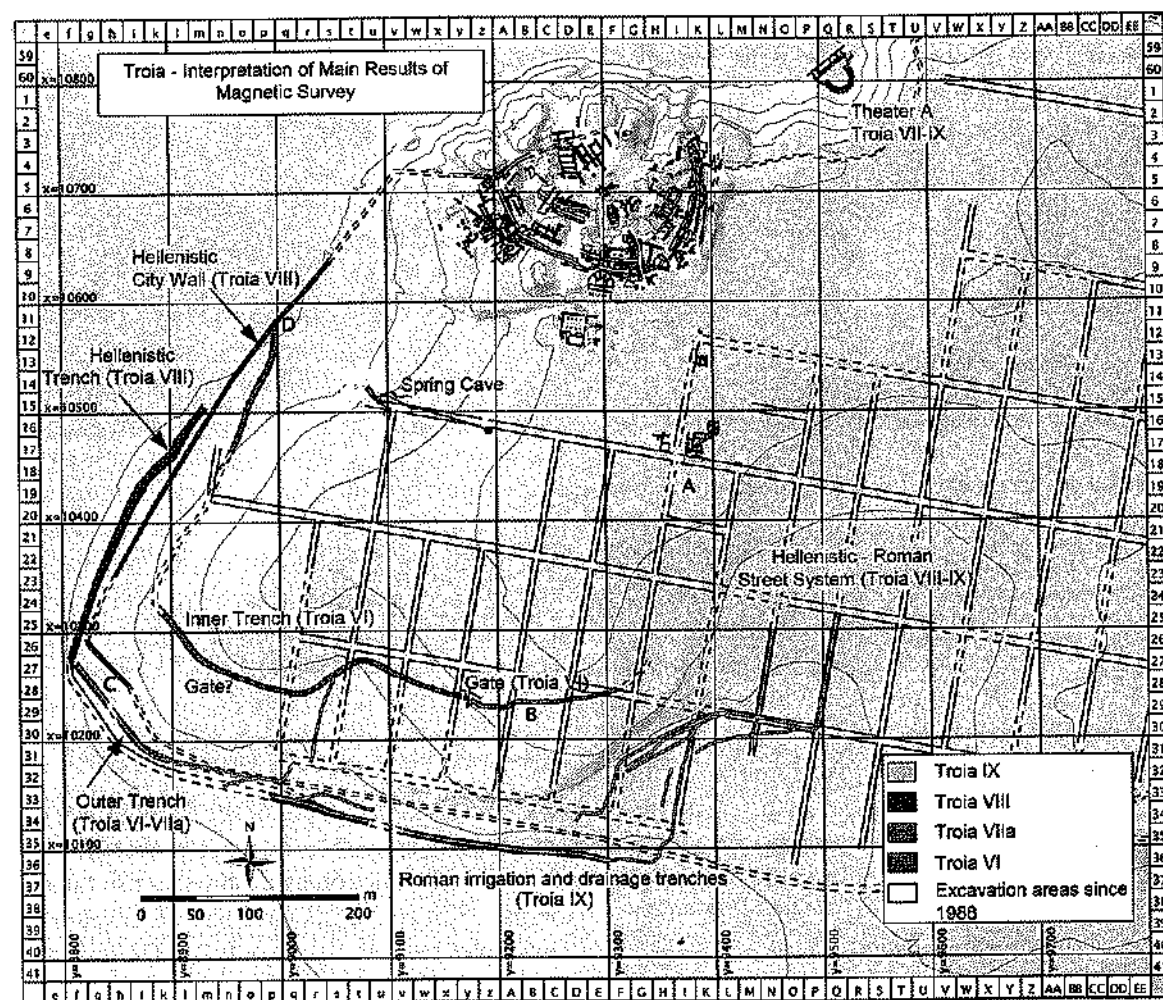


Fig. 6. Plan of the Lower City of Ilion (Troy Excavation Project).

at least two of the shafts end in basins in the floor of the cave.²⁰ This is a qanat system, well known in the Near East, but the Ilion example is the first to have been discovered in western Asia Minor.²¹

Especially striking is the extent to which the building sequence in the Lower City parallels the history of the "Hanghäuser" at Ephesus.²² Those houses had been damaged at more or less the same

²⁰ C. Woltersdorfer and J. Göbel, "Hydrogeologie der Troianischen Landschaft—eine Bestandsaufnahme," *Studia Troica* 14 (2004) 157–67; M. Korfmann, N. Frank, and A. Mangini, "Eingang in die Unterwelt—die Höhle von Troia und ihre Datierung," in Korfmann, *Troia* (supra n. 17), 337–42.

²¹ For the qanat system, see R.J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology I* (Leiden 1964) 156–63; R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *Antike Wasserkultur* (Munich 1990) 39–42; D. Crouch, *Water Management in Ancient Greek Cities* (New York 1993) 117; P. Briant, *Irrigation et drainage dans l'antiquité, qanats*

et canalisations souterraines en Iran, en Égypte, et en Grèce (Paris 2001).

²² S. Ladstätter, "Die Chronologie des Hanghauses 2," in F. Krinzinger (ed.), *Das Hanghaus 2 von Ephesos. Studien zu Baugeschichte und Chronologie* (Vienna 2002) 9–40, at 11, 19, 38; H. Thür, "Die Bauphasen der Wohneinheit 4 (und 6)," in Krinzinger, *Hanghaus 2* (supra this note), 41–66, at 57; N. Zimmermann, "Ausstattungen von Haupt- und Nebenräumen. Zur Datierung der Wandmalereien des Hanghauses 2 in Ephesos," in Krinzinger, *Hanghaus 2* (supra this note), 101–17, at 111. "Im Hanghaus 2 kommt es im 2. Viertel des 3.

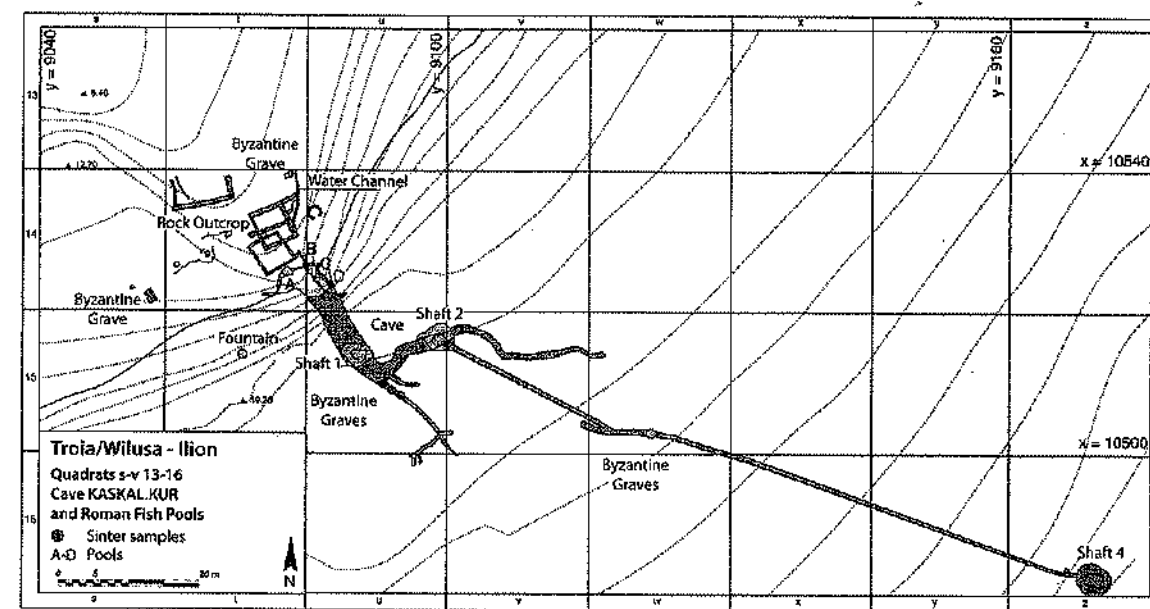


Fig. 7. Plan of the Spring Cave at Troy (Troy Excavation Project).

time as the structures at Ilion, after which there was a similarly dramatic rise in reconstruction. The majority of the mosaics and wall paintings from the Ephesian houses, formerly dated to the fourth and fifth centuries, have now been redated to the second quarter of the third century.²³ Other cities in western Asia Minor, especially in Ionia, benefited as well, and inscriptions refer to new construction, civic improvements, and elaborate spectacles.²⁴

Meanwhile, in the area of Alexandria Troas, 25 km away, an extraordinary series of granite quarries (now in the village of Koç Ali) were in operation (figs. 1, 8). Large-scale quarrying appears to have begun here in the early second century, especially for columns, with the products shipped from the harbor at Alexandria Troas.²⁵ Koç Ali granite columns enjoyed great popularity throughout the Mediterranean, especially between the second and fourth centuries; examples have been found as far east as Palmyra and Nazareth, as far south as Lepcis Magna, and as far west as Arles and Tarraco.²⁶ The 20 columns still lying in the quarries demonstrate the scale of operations: each has a diameter of ca. 1.65 m and a length of nearly 40 Roman feet—only a few centimeters shorter than those used in the porch of the Pantheon.²⁷

There was extensive destruction again ca. A.D. 260–270, which was caused by an attack of the Herulians, although it looks as if an earthquake a few years earlier also weakened the city. One of

Jhs., wohl als Folge eines Erdbebens, zu einer umfassenden Bauphase mit teilweiser Neuorganisation der Nutzung und fast durchgängiger Neuasstattung der Räume."

²³ Zimmermann, "Hanghäuser" (supra n. 22), superseding M.V. Strocka, *Die Wandmalerei der Hanghäuser in Ephesos, Forschungen in Ephesos VIII 1* (Vienna 1977).

²⁴ Magie, *Roman Rule* (supra n. 7), 692–93, 1559 n. 9. This rise in the economy is not visible in the material record of Pergamon: U. Wulf, *Altortümer von Pergamon XV. Die Stadigrabung. Teil 3. Die hellenistischen und römischen Wohnhäuser von Pergamon* (Berlin 1999) 209–11.

²⁵ G. Ponti, "Marmor Troadense: Granite quarries in the Troad. A preliminary survey," *Studia Troica* 5 (1995) 291–320. The discovery of one of the Koç Ali granite columns in the Alexandria Troas harbor makes this certain.

²⁶ L. Lazzarini, "I graniti dei monumenti italiani ed i loro problemi di deterioramento," *BdA Suppl.* 41 (1987) 157–72, at 163, fig. 24.

²⁷ Ponti, "Marmor Troadense" (supra n. 25), 319 n. 40. The earliest appearance of Koç Ali granite columns in central Italy is Hadrianic: the Piazza d'Oro in the villa at Tivoli, and the Hadrianic building in the forum at Ostia.

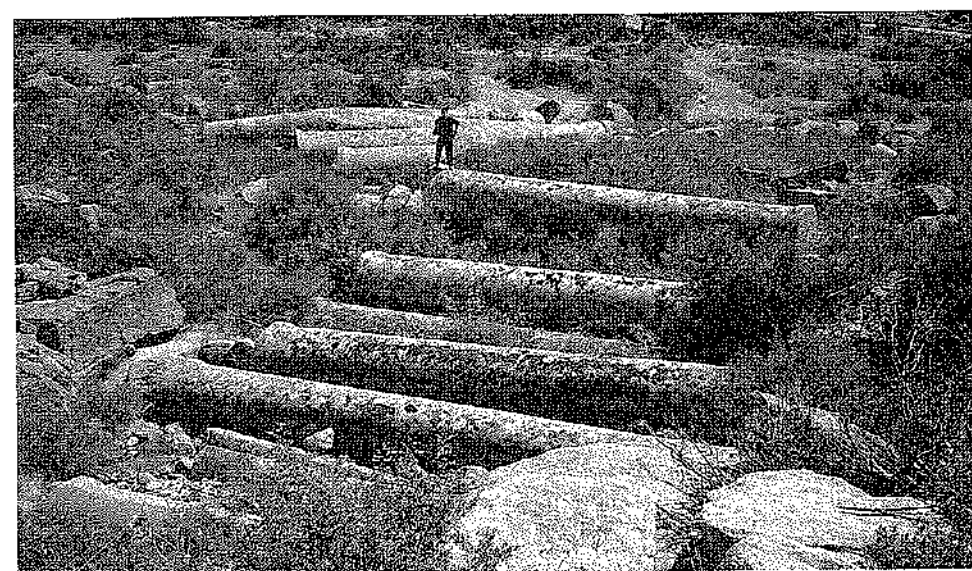


Fig. 8. The quarry at Koç Ali, near Alexandria Troas (C.B. Rose).

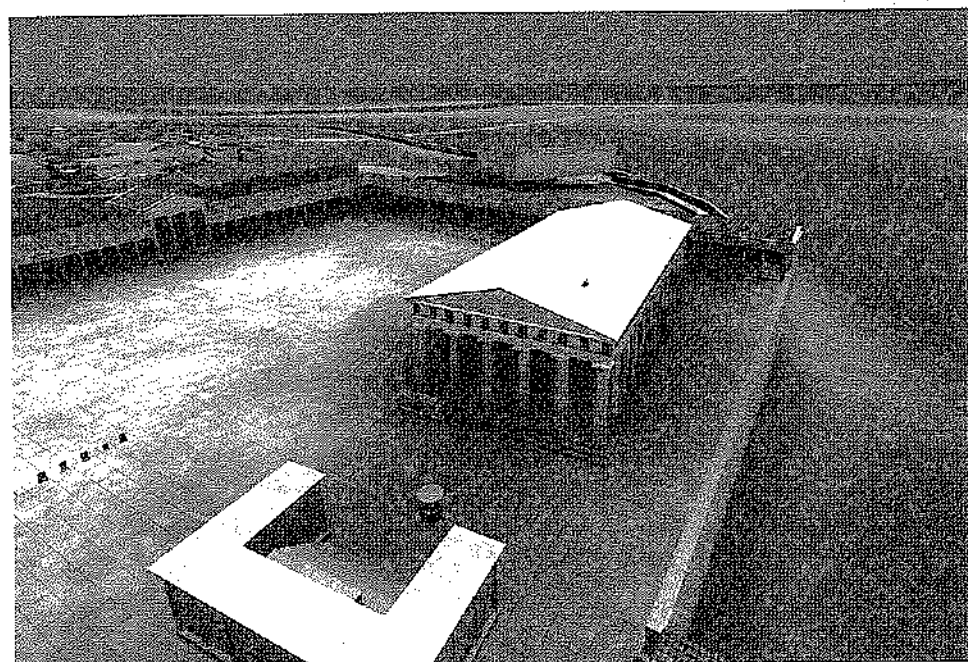


Fig. 9. Reconstruction of the temple of Athena (courtesy Elizabeth Rlorden).

the residents in the Lower City, who had a prized marble statuette of Cybele, apparently feared the impending devastation of the attackers, and lowered the statuette into a well in an attempt to hide it.²⁸ There was limited reconstruction following the disaster, and we have found several of the trash pits from the cleanup activities, one of which contained the portrait of Augustus.

²⁸ Tekkök et al., "Roman wells," (supra n. 9), 371–72.



Fig. 10. The inscribed architrave from the temple of Athena (F. Goethert and H. Schleif, *Der Athenatempel von Ilion*, *Denkmäler antiker Architektur* 10 [Berlin 1962] fig. 25b).

After A.D. 270, it looks as if the residents once again abandoned much of the Lower City, at least temporarily, and sought shelter closer to the acropolis, as they had done in the late second century B.C. during the Mithridatic Wars.²⁹ In general, Ilion seems to have entered a period of economic decline after this attack. Inscriptions refer to a Tetrarchic dedication of silver statues of Zeus and Asklepios to Athena Ilias, but the gift appears to have been accompanied by no economic assistance.³⁰

Nevertheless, at least some imperial visits continued to occur. Constantine reportedly came in the early fourth century and considered moving the capital either here or to Alexandria Troas.³¹ The future emperor Julian actually wrote a letter describing his arrival at Ilion in A.D. 354, wherein we learn that the heroon of Hector was still in existence, as was a bronze statue of Achilles in an open air precinct, presumably the one set up by Caracalla.³² At some point in the late Roman period a series of Greek epigrams were inscribed on statues of Homeric heroes (Priam, Hector, and Ajax) that probably stood in the Athenaion or the agora.³³ The temple to Athena was still functioning, and there is no evidence that it was subsequently transformed into a church, or that any churches were erected on the acropolis (fig. 9).

Julian was honored with a statue by the residents of Ilion, and it is conceivable that his name was actually featured on the temple.³⁴ One block of the temple's inscribed epistyle survives, with an incised inscription over which the bronze letters of a second inscription were subsequently placed (fig. 10):³⁵

Inscribed: Αὐτοκράτ[ωρ Καίσαρ Θεοῦ] υἱὸς Σεβασ[τοῦ . . .]
Bronze:]οῦ Ἰουλ[

The bronze letters would have been at least 0.20 m in height judging by the position of the holes. Other than Ilion, there are no examples in which building inscriptions, once incised, were replaced by identical inscriptions in bronze, and one can easily understand why. The surfaces that received these inscriptions were exposed to the elements year round, and any plaster meant to cover an incised inscription would have quickly washed away, thereby leaving an ugly shadow under the gilded bronze letters.

²⁹ A.M. Berlin, "Studies in Hellenistic Ilion: The Lower City. Stratified assemblages and chronology," *Studia Troica* 9 (1999) 73–157, at 147–51.

³⁰ P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Ilion* (Bonn 1975) nos. 96, 97, 103.

³¹ Zosimus 2.30; W. Dörpfeld, *Troia und Ilion. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in den vorhistorischen und historischen Schichten von Ilion 1870–1894* (Athens 1902) 592.

³² Julian, *Letters* 19; M. Sage, "Roman visitors to Ilium in the Roman imperial and late antique period: The symbolic functions of a landscape," *Studia Troica* 10 (2000) 211–31, at 215. He also visited Alexandria Troas: Riel, *Inscriptions* (supra n. 8), 182, T19.

³³ Frisch, *Inschriften* (supra n. 30), nos. 141, 142, 145.

³⁴ For the statue, see *ibid.*, no. 100.

³⁵ Dörpfeld, *Troia* (supra n. 31), 223–25; F. Goethert and H. Schleif, *Der Athenatempel von Ilion*, *Denkmäler antiker Architektur* 10 (Berlin 1962) 37; Frisch, *Inschriften* (supra n. 30), no. 84; C.B. Rose, "The temple of Athena at Ilion," *Studia Troica* 13 (2003) 27–88, at 65–66; D. Hertel, "Zum Heiligtum der Athena Ilias von Troia IX und zur frühhellenistischen Stadtanlage von Ilion," *AA* (2004) 177–205. The incised letters are certainly Augustan in date, and can be paralleled on other Augustan inscriptions from Ilion: Frisch, *Inschriften* (supra n. 30), nos. 81–83, 85. They feature barely perceptible serifs, and the crossbars of the "A"s are formed by intersecting diagonal strokes rather than a single horizontal. The inscribed block has now disappeared.

The authors of the first monograph on the Athena temple assumed that both the incised and bronze inscriptions referred to Augustus, with one replacing the other within a very short period of time. The bronze section was consequently restored as: Θ[ε]οῦ Ἰουλ[ίου υἱός].

Such a restoration is certainly incorrect, in that Caesar was never called *theos Ioulios* in the inscriptions of Ilion; Augustan inscriptions in the east refer to Caesar merely as *theos*.³⁶ There is consequently no reason to associate the bronze letters with Augustus, and the fact that the bronze inscription obscures but does not completely erase the first one argues strongly against it. I suspect that the bronze inscription of the Ilion Athenaion concerned a different emperor, and was inset at a much later time. No words in the second inscription repeat those in the first, and only two fragmentary words survive from the bronze version:]οῦ Ἰουλ[.

The only certainty here is that 1) one of the words begins with Ἰουλ; 2) the name of an emperor was probably featured; and 3) the inscription was set in at a time when it would not have been considered anathema to deface or replace the name of Augustus. All of this evidence points toward a late antique date, and almost certainly to the emperor Julian. The preserved section of the inscription can easily be restored as [Φλαβίου Κλαυδίου]οῦ Ἰουλ[ίου υἱός], which is the usual formula for Julian's name.³⁷ Julian's statue would have been erected at Ilion at the same time, and his name was probably added to the propylon architrave of the Aphrodisias Sebasteion as well, although it was later defaced.³⁸

Shortly after this visit, and for the remainder of the fourth century, the Lower City of Ilion witnessed more building activity than in any of the preceding centuries. Throughout the center of the Lower City there is evidence for reconstruction: this included a monumental portico flanking one of the major streets, and a large glass-working center in the middle of the Lower City, where we found abundant quantities of glass wasters, ingots, and slag, as well as a crucible and new water channels.³⁹ The manufacture of glass requires large quantities of silicate sand and an abundant supply of fuel, both of which were readily available due to the proximity of the Scamander river and the forests in the foothills of Mt. Ida.

Two opulent houses were built with elaborate polychromatic stone mosaics featuring geometric schemes, datable to the late fourth century, as well as a painted plaster ceiling with floral designs (fig. 11).⁴⁰ The entire ceiling was framed by a plaster bead and reel molding with a course of sea shells at the edges, and our best comparanda come from the "Hanghäuser" at Ephesus, where there are two that feature similar designs, although ours is considerably later.⁴¹ It is noteworthy that in none of these houses is there evidence for private baths or opus sectile floors such as one finds at Ephesus and Pergamon.

³⁶ C. Damon, *Res Gestae divi Augusti* (Bryn Mawr 1995) 60 no. 2.

³⁷ For the dedication to Julian at Ilion, see Frisch, *Inchriften* (supra n. 30), no. 100. For the inscriptions of Julian in general, see J. Arce, *Estudios sobre el Emperador Fl. Cl. Juliano: fuentes literarias, epigrafía, numismáticas* (Madrid 1984) 93–176, op. cit. 109–12, 154–66. To his list add SEG 37 (1987) no. 863 (Iasos); SEG 41 (1991) nos. 1544 (Askalon), 1614 (Prokynema, Egypt); SEG 45 (1995) no. 1682 (Yirce, Mysia); SEG 47 (1997) no. 2066 (Jerash); SEG 48 (1998) nos. 1912, 1913 (Jerash).

³⁸ For the Aphrodisias propylon dedication, see K. Erism, *Aphrodisias: City of Venus Aphrodite* (London 1986) 112 (the two lower fasciae of the architrave, later erased). Two other inscriptions to Julian at Aphrodisias were also erased: C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity, JRS Monograph 5* (London 1989) 35–42 nos. 19, 20. The dedication to Julian at Ilion is in Latin, which is interesting in itself. Altogether, five Latin

inscriptions can be confidently attributed to Ilion, four of which concern late Roman emperors (Alexander Severus, Diocletian, Constantine II, and Julian: Frisch, *Inchriften* [supra n. 30], nos. 95, 98–100). None of the inscriptions associated with Athena or the koinon were in Latin. On the use of Greek vs. Latin in Asia Minor during the fourth century, see R. Van Dam, *The Roman Revolution of Constantine* (Cambridge 2007) 184–216.

³⁹ C.B. Rose, "The 1991 post-Bronze Age excavations at Troy," *Studia Troica* 2 (1992) 43–60, at 55–56; idem, "1996 excavations at Troy" (supra n. 10), 102–3; idem, "1997 excavations at Troy" (supra n. 10), 101–2; idem, "1998 excavations at Troy" (supra n. 6), 52–54.

⁴⁰ C.B. Rose, "The 1993 post-Bronze Age excavations at Troy," *Studia Troica* 4 (1994) 75–104, at 93–94.

⁴¹ Stroocka, *Hanghäuser* (supra n. 23), 58, fig. 91; 91, fig. 349. Another preserved ceiling (ibid., 36, fig. 27) contains inter-



Fig. 11. The mosaic floor of a late Roman house in the Lower City (Troy Excavation Project).



Fig. 12. The mosaic floor of the early Christian church at Ilion (C.W. Blegen et al., *Troy I. The First and Second Settlements* [Princeton 1950] fig. 120).

Some of the new construction gradually encroached upon the paved streets, thereby decreasing their width by several meters and spurring the spoliation of their stone pavers. This is part of a larger late antique trend in the eastern Mediterranean wherein commerce shifted from the agorai and fora to more residential areas along major roads, with the shops often set up behind new porticoes.⁴² In spite of the fact that some of these structures were commercial as well as residential, there was no evidence of window grills to discourage theft, although the presence of keys indicates that the doors were locked.

Although Ilion was reportedly the seat of a bishopric until at least the ninth century, only one church has been excavated at the site—on the eastern side of the Lower City. The entire floor of the narthex was paved with mosaics that feature medallions, some of which were filled by images of animals and birds (fig. 12). The total dimensions of the building were quite sizable—approximately

locking squares with floral elements. For the new chronology, see P. Scherrer, "The historical topography of Ephesus," in D. Parrish (ed.), *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor, JRA Suppl. 45* (Portsmouth, RI 2001) 57–96, at 77–79.

⁴² C. Foss, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis* (Cambridge 1976) 16, 42–43; idem, *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique,*

Byzantine, and Turkish City (Cambridge 1979) 54–67; M.L. Rautman, "A late Roman townhouse in Sardis," in E. Scherthheim (ed.), *Forschungen in Lydien, Asia Minor Studien 17* (Bonn 1995) 49–66, at 52; C. Lang-Auinger, "Hanghaus 1," in ead. (ed.), *Hanghaus 1 in Ephesos. Funde und Ausstattung, Forschungen in Ephesos VIII 4* (Vienna 2003) 333.

30 by 18 m, and it may have been the principal church of Ilion during late antiquity. The church was probably constructed during the period of prosperity that occurred at Ilion on either side of A.D. 400, and it was clearly built here because of a pre-existing cemetery in the area.⁴³

The quarries at Koç Ali were still in operation during this period: newly quarried columns were shipped to Lepcis Magna in A.D. 313 for use in the restored Forum Vetus basilica, and both the *Theodosian Code* and the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates demonstrate continued activity in the first quarter of the fifth century.⁴⁴ By the middle of the fifth century, however, the economic picture appears to have become considerably bleaker. The agora at Ilion gradually lost its commercial function due to the steady movement of shops to the Lower City, and it was being used as a cemetery by the middle of the fifth century.⁴⁵ A crippling blow occurred around A.D. 500, when two sizable earthquakes struck the western Troad within a relatively short period of time. The coins and pottery associated with the earthquake collapse include an extensive amount of LRC Hayes Form 3, and allow us to date the catastrophe to A.D. 500 or shortly thereafter.⁴⁶ Even before the earthquake struck, the city appears to have been largely abandoned: few small finds were discovered in the houses under the earthquake collapse, leading one to posit that the houses had been emptied of their contents prior to A.D. 500.

As in the late Bronze Age, the remaining residents once again took shelter on the acropolis. The northeast gate of the city was completely blocked by a wall composed of fallen architectural elements, and on the southern side of the acropolis, the survivors constructed another defensive wall composed of spoliated architectural elements set in a hard mortar (fig. 13). Both of these seem to have formed part of a new security system, and only one entrance to the acropolis may have remained open.⁴⁷

How long habitation continued here is unclear. But on the southern side of the acropolis Carl Blegen found three coins from the second half of the sixth century: Justin I and Sophia (A.D. 565–568), Tiberius II (A.D. 578–579), and Maurice Tiberius (A.D. 587–588), while a coin of Heraclius (A.D. 610–641) was unearthed in Quadrat D6, to the northwest. These are the latest early Byzantine coins that have been found at the site, and it seems likely that the acropolis was the last locus of activity in post-earthquake Ilion.⁴⁸ The date of these coins is particularly important, however, because it means that at least a few of the residents survived the plague that swept through Asia Minor during the reign of Justinian.⁴⁹

The last residents appear to have abandoned the site, including the acropolis, by the early seventh century. Late Byzantine coins and pottery on the south and west sides of the acropolis indicate some renewed activity in the 11th and 13th centuries, but this may have been related only to spoliation of stones.⁵⁰ When a settlement was established again in the late 12th century, the water-bearing cave

⁴³ C.W. Blegen, "Excavations at Troy, 1935," *AJA* 39 (1935) 550–87, at 582–83; Blegen et al., *Troy* (supra n. 15), 13; Frisch, *Inchriften* (supra n. 30), 242–43 no. 156 (inscription); Sage, "Roman visitors" (supra n. 32), 219; C.B. Rose, "Von Konstantin bis Mehmet II," in *Troia. Traum und Wirklichkeit* (Stuttgart 2001) 280–81, at 280.

⁴⁴ J.M. Reynolds and J.B. Ward-Perkins, *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (Rome 1952) 132 no. 467; Riel, *Inscriptions* (supra n. 8), 236, T139 (*Theodosian Code*); 234–35, T134 (Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History* 7.37). There is no evidence that the quarries continued operations after ca. A.D. 420.

⁴⁵ C.B. Rose, "The 1992 post-Bronze Age excavations at Troy," *Studia Troica* 3 (1993) 97–116, at 110.

⁴⁶ Rose, "1996 excavations at Troy" (supra n. 10), 96–101. Featured in the assemblage is Hayes Form 87b: Behälter P18.00931.

⁴⁷ Rose, "1996 excavations at Troy" (supra n. 10), 99; idem, "Temple" (supra n. 35), 64.

⁴⁸ Two coins of Justinian (A.D. 518–565) were found in Quadrat H17, in the center of the Lower City (C55, 58), and a nummus, apparently of Justinian (C143), was found under one of the blocks of the bouleuterion (Rose, "1991 excavations at Troy" [supra n. 39], 53). The coins of Maurice Tiberius, Tiberius II, Justin, and Heraclius were not catalogued by Bellinger in his monograph on the coins of Troy, but they appear in the C.W. Blegen inventory of coins on pages 12 no. 144 (Justin), no. 146 (Maurice Tiberius), no. 152 (Tiberius II); 18 no. 224 (Heraclius). See also Rose, "Temple" (supra n. 35), 65.

⁴⁹ For the plague see L. Little (ed.), *Plague and the End of Antiquity: The Pandemic of 541–750* (Cambridge 2007).

⁵⁰ These were found in Quadrats F8/9 and D3/4/5. F8/9: Inventory of coins notebook, 11 no. 131 (ca. A.D. 1050), no. 132



Fig. 13. The blocked entrance to the acropolis near Ilion's Northeast Bastion (Troy Excavation Project).

in Quadrat t14 emerged as its nucleus, and the stones of the Athenaion gradually began to travel to the surrounding villages.⁵¹

There was still a considerable amount of activity in this area of the Troad during the sixth century: Justinian built an enormous granary on the island of Tenedos so that grain ships from Egypt had a place to unload their cargo if the winds and currents of the Dardanelles hindered sailing, and an inscription from Abydos, probably dating to the reign of Anastasius I, records the tariffs imposed on ships crossing the Dardanelles.⁵² But this would have had little effect on Ilion or the coastal cities of the Troad, whose public buildings now lay in ruins.

Some of the gaps in the archaeological record of Ilion can be filled by the Granicus River Valley Survey Project, where I have conducted four seasons of work.⁵³ Our goal in this project is to survey and map all of the settlements and tumuli that lie on or between the Granicus and Aesepus rivers (see fig. 1). This area encompasses a significant portion of the satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia, and although tumuli dating to the period of Persian control constitute the most dominant feature of the landscape, there is an abundance of evidence for habitation of late Roman date.⁵⁴

(ca. A.D. 1050); 12 no. 147 (A.D. 1204–1255). D3: ibid., 16 no. 199 (A.D. 1081–1095). D4: ibid., 18 no. 220 (A.D. 1259–1261), no. 221 (A.D. 1260–1261). D5: ibid., 22 no. 280 (12th century).

⁵¹ Rose, "1997 excavations at Troy" (supra n. 10), 102–3; idem, "1998 excavations at Troy" (supra n. 6), 35–71, at 55–61; idem, "Research at Troy, 1999" (supra n. 6), 53–72, at 61–65.

⁵² Procopius, *On Buildings* 5.1 (ca. A.D. 560); J. Durliat and A. Guillou, "Le tarif d'Abydos (vers 492)," *BCH* 108 (1984) 581–98. For Byzantine settlements in the vicinity of Ilion, see G. Bieg, K. Belke, and B. Tekkök, "Die Mittel- bis Spätbyzantinische Besiedlung innerhalb des Nationalparks 'Troia und die Troas,'" *Studia Troica* 18 (2008) 163–97.

⁵³ The first two seasons of work have been presented in Rose et al., "Granicus 2006" (supra n. 2). For a recent survey of the western Troad, see G. Bieg, B. Tekkök, and R. Aslan, "Die Spätromische Besiedlung der Troas—ein Überblick," *Studia Troica* 16 (2006) 147–70.

⁵⁴ For a historical overview of habitation in the area, see N. Sekunda, "Persian settlement in Hellespontine Phrygia," in A. Kuhrt and H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (eds.), *Achaemenid History III: Method and Theory* (Leiden 1988) 175–96; B. Tenger, "Troas zwischen Königsfrieden und Ankunft Alexanders," in E. Schwertheim and H. Wiegartz (eds.), *Die Troas. Neue Forschungen zu Neandria und Alexandria Troas*

The ceramic record points to an unusual sequence of habitation in this area. Less than 1 per cent of the ceramics are Bronze Age (and all second millennium B.C.); 41 per cent are archaic or classical (with the vast majority dating from the late sixth through the early fourth century B.C.); 5 per cent Hellenistic (the majority is early Hellenistic); just over 1 per cent are early to mid-Roman (primarily third century A.D.); nearly 29 per cent are late Roman; 14 per cent Byzantine (with the majority being late 12th or early 13th century), and nearly 10 per cent Ottoman (with the majority dating to the 19th century). In other words, the primary settlements date to the period of Persian occupation, and to the late Roman period. Nearly 60 per cent of the 86 sites that we have identified in the Granicus and Aesepus river valleys have a late Roman phase of occupation.⁵⁵

The significant increase in population here during late antiquity can be explained in part by the rise in seismic activity throughout the Troad, which brought down most of the buildings in the coastal settlements.⁵⁶ Disrupted waterways turned to swamps and ultimately prompted a rise in malaria, followed by plague. The abandonment of those sites spurred a return to the agricultural areas that had remained largely uncultivated since the end of Persian control. Indeed, at many sites in our survey area there were virtually no sherds that dated between the late classical and late Roman periods.

There is a considerable amount of information relating to the ancient road system that crossed the region. In Gümüşçay we discovered a milestone that bears five inscriptions—Gordian III, Valerian and Gallienus, Licinius, Constantine I with his sons, and Valentinian I (fig. 14). This is an especially important discovery in that no other milestones from this area have been discovered, even though they have appeared on the west coast of the Troad and in the region around Cyzicus. We know from the ancient sources that there was a road that crossed the Granicus in the vicinity of Didymateiche (Gümüşçay), not far from the bridge that would have been used by the Persian army during the Battle of the Granicus. Our new milestone probably belonged to this road.⁵⁷

Altogether, five milestones linked to the Cyzicus-Daskyleion road have been identified. Although their dates range from the Antonine period to Theodosius I, the majority of the inscriptions date to the fourth century, and three of them include dedications to Constantine I and Valentinian I,

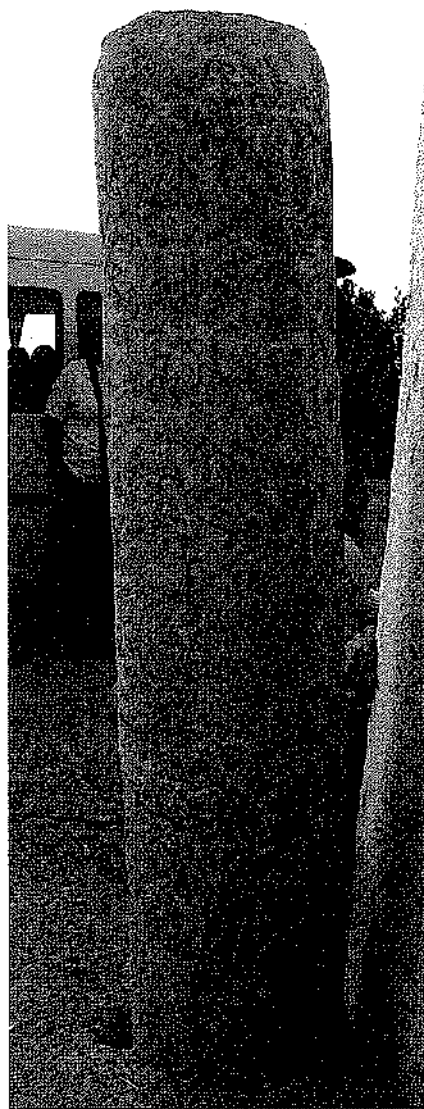


Fig. 14. Milestone of Gordian III, from Gümüşçay (Granicus River Valley Archaeological Project).

II, *Asia Minor Studien* 22 (Bonn 1996) 125–47; idem, “Zur Geographie und Geschichte der Troas,” in E. Schwertheim (ed.), *Die Troas. Neue Forschungen* III, *Asia Minor Studien* 33 (Bonn 1999) 103–80, at 131–33.

⁵⁵ Rose et al., “Granicus 2006” (supra n. 2), 104–5.

⁵⁶ E. Guidoboni, *Catalogue of Ancient Earthquakes in the Mediterranean Area up to the 10th Century* (Rome 1994) 302–5 no. 189.

⁵⁷ Rose et al., “Granicus 2006” (supra n. 2), 110–13.



Fig. 15. The remains of the ecclesiastical complex at Babayaka (Granicus River Valley Archaeological Project).

like the Gümüşçay milestone.⁵⁸ All of these improvements are undoubtedly by-products of Diocletian's establishment of Cyzicus as the capital of Troas and Lesser Phrygia.⁵⁹

Approximately 10 km southeast of Biga, near Taşoluk, we actually discovered part of an ancient road with wheelruts. The remains measure nearly 100 m in length, with a width of 2 m, and they appear never to have been mapped before. The road has been cut between the natural rocks on the high crest of a hill, from which one can see Priapus and the sea of Marmara. The road may originally have been created during the period of Persian domination, but in its current form, it most closely resembles roads of Roman date.⁶⁰

Within this area, we found abundant evidence for settlements, religious complexes, and fortified citadels. Our most important discovery was at Babayaka, which looks out on the Aesepus river and lies about 5 km southeast of Gönen. Here we found a well-preserved building constructed of brick and stone, measuring 20 by 15 m. Most of the first floor is still standing, and it appears never to have been recorded or published (fig. 15). The plan of the building features a triconch or three-apsed room, with each of the apses flanked by semicircular niches, while the outer vestibule is in the form of a double-apsed narthex. This is probably the mausoleum of an important member of the community. Judging by the plan of the building, and the pottery found around it, a date of construction in the fifth or sixth century seems likely.⁶¹

⁵⁸ D.H. French, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. Fasc. 2, *An Interim Catalogue of Milestones*, BAR-IS 392, *British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monograph* 9 (Oxford 1988) nos. 213 (Septimius Severus/Constantine I), 214 (Constantine I, Valentinian I, Theodosius I), 216 (M. Aurelius/

Julian), 218 (Constantine I/Valentinian I), 221 (Diocletian).

⁵⁹ For Diocletian's reorganization of the province see Tenger, “Geographie” (supra n. 54), 171.

⁶⁰ Rose et al., “Granicus 2006” (supra n. 2), 103–16, at 108.

⁶¹ Ibid., 106.

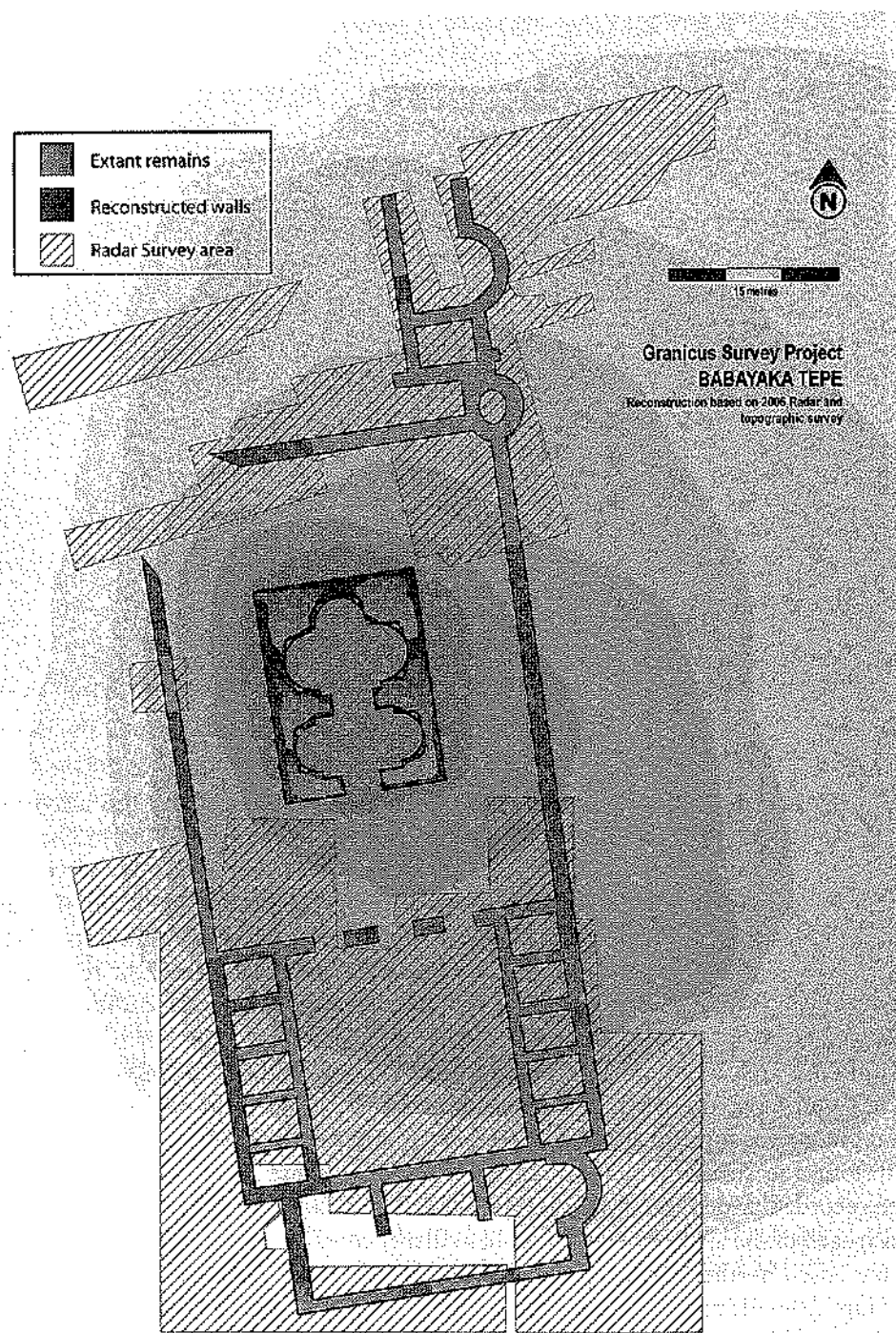


Fig. 16. Restored plan of the ecclesiastical complex at Babayaka (Granicus River Valley Archaeological Project).

We used remote sensing, primarily radar, in the area to the north and south of the building; the results, which were unusually clear, revealed the entire plan (fig. 16). The complex featured a large structure with an apse at the east, probably a church, which is linked to a courtyard, each side of which contained five rooms of equal dimensions. Further to the north is another structure with an apse at the east and an additional set of rooms. This is one of the largest early Byzantine ecclesiastical complexes in the Troad, and it is especially remarkable in that there is no major ancient settlement in the vicinity, as far as we know.⁶²

The roads that crossed through the Aesepus, Empelus, and Macestus river valleys in the eastern Troad/Mysia were guarded by citadels situated on high hills that, in some cases, provided views as far as the sea of Marmara.⁶³ Most of these roads were in operation for long periods of time, as were several of the citadels—from the Achaemenid period through the late Byzantine/early Ottoman periods. There were at least four of them along the Aesepus river, which marked the main road from Cyzicus to Adramyttion and Pergamon, and the distance between them ranged from 6 to 25 km.⁶⁴

Two of these, Alacaoluk and Asartepe, occupy very defensible terrain in the Aesepus river valley, and feature walls of mortared rubble faced in ashlar masonry with neat headers and stretchers, especially on towers and around gates (see fig. 1). The existence of both had been noted by 19th-century topographers who dated them generally to the Byzantine period, but a sketch existed only for Alacaoluk, which was done quickly.⁶⁵ Conducting a careful examination of the two citadels, which are unusually well preserved, was one of the principal goals of the Granicus River Valley Survey Project, as was the preparation of new measured plans.

Alacaoluk is located on a high outcropping of bedrock that rises from the floor of a deep gorge about 15 km southwest of Gönen (figs. 17–18).⁶⁶ The fortress has an oval shape, about 175 by 105 m in size, and the main citadel wall was fortified by an outer wall on the north and east sides. There are 11 towers overall, the largest of which is approximately 15 m in height. Two gates are preserved, each of which had a barrel-vaulted tunnel about 7 m long made of mortared rubble. Built against the inside of one of the walls were three brick-lined, barrel-vaulted cisterns. Marble spolia appear regularly on the facing, especially near gates and on towers. The walls appear to have been built in three phases that took place over a relatively short period of time, perhaps within the same generation of builders.

Asartepe is located 35 km southwest of Alacaoluk (fig. 19).⁶⁷ The elevation of the citadel is extraordinarily high, with views of both the Aesepus and Granicus river valleys, and on clear days, one can see the sea of Marmara from here. The fortress is long and narrow, 325 m long and between 45 and 75 m wide. These walls are not as well preserved as those of Alacaoluk (the highest preserved tower is only about 7 m tall), but aspects of the design and construction indicate that the two fortresses were contemporary. The fortress had 10 towers (excluding bastions that flanked the gates) and three cisterns. Many millstones were found here, which suggests a grain storage and processing facility—

⁶² There is nothing comparable in A. Grabar, *Martyrium: recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien* (Paris 1943–46), or in M.-F. Auzépy, "Survey of the Byzantine monasteries of the south coast of the sea of Marmara 2004," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 23.2 (2005) 23–34.

⁶³ T. Wiegand, "Reisen in Mysien," *AM* 29 (1904) 254–339, at 335–39.

⁶⁴ See the plan at the back of F.W. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* (Cambridge 1910). A few of these can be dated by literary sources, such as Achyraus, near Hadrianotherae (Balıkesir), which

was built by John Comnenus to guard the southern roads (Niketas Choniates, *Annals* 44B).

⁶⁵ For the dating, see Wiegand, "Reisen in Mysien" (supra n. 63), 274, 337–38.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 335–39, with fig. 47; Hasluck, *Cyzicus* (supra n. 64), 104, fig. 11.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 110–11 (identified as Palaeoscepsis); Wiegand, "Reisen in Mysien" (supra n. 63), 274; A.D. Mordtmann, "Ruines de Scepsis en Troade," *RA* 11 (1855) 767–70.

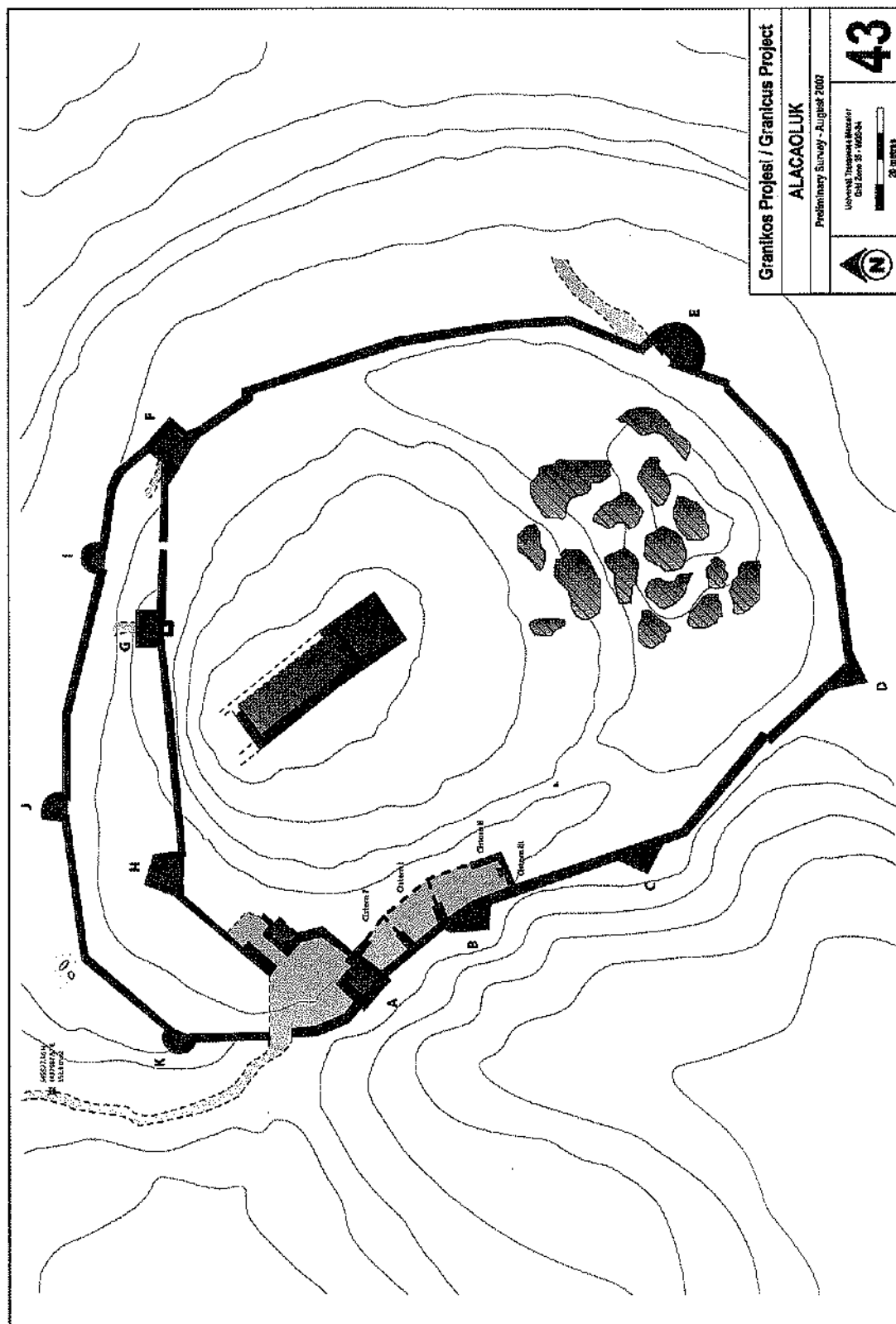


Fig. 17. The late Roman citadel at Alacaoluk (prepared by G. Pizzorno, Granicus River Valley Archaeological Project).

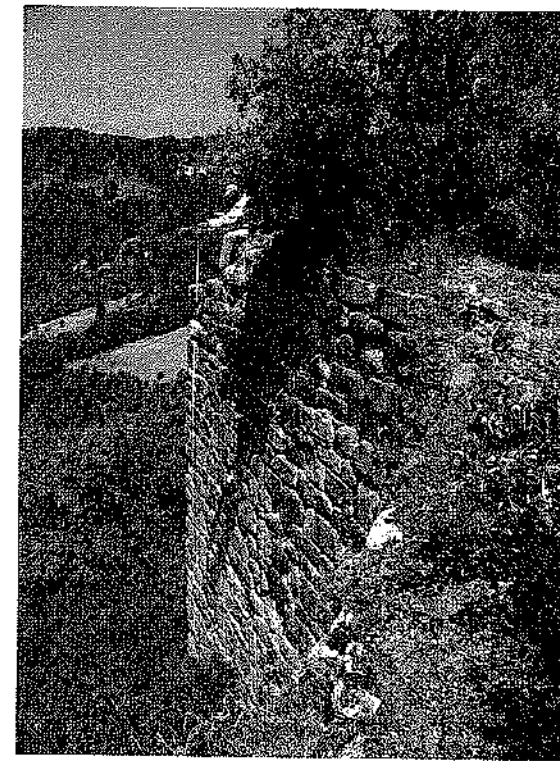


Fig. 18. Remains of the late Roman citadel at Alacaoluk (Granicus River Valley Archaeological Project).

something that would have been important for a garrison. Also like Alacaoluk, marble spolia, including a Doric frieze and window mullions, appear regularly on the facing, with higher frequency at gates and towers.

Dating the citadels of Asartepe and Alacaoluk is difficult, although the style and technique of the walls suggest a date between ca. A.D. 400 and 600. Without excavation, the date can be narrowed only by focusing on the history of the area, and examining when such constructions would have been most plausible. Within the fifth century, one likely period is the reign of Theodosius II (A.D. 401–450), when the combined threat of the Goths and Huns made it clear that the defenses of Constantinople, and of the empire in general, needed to be strengthened. In A.D. 413–414 Theodosius II built the triple fortifications around the city of Constantinople, 18 m in height. This could conceivably have prompted a “ripple effect” wherein other regions in the empire also strengthened their fortifications and began to establish points of protection along the roads to protect commercial routes.⁶⁸

A second possible phase of construction, and the more likely one, would be the reign of the emperor Anastasius I (A.D. 498–518). Anastasius constructed fortification walls across Thrace ca. A.D. 500, probably to counter military threats from the Bulgars, and similar walls were built across the Gallipoli peninsula.⁶⁹ These were enormous fortification projects, built as new lines of defense to supplement the existing walls in the face of increasing security problems, and the citadels at Asartepe and Alacaoluk may have been by-products of the building program. With the rise in population in the interior during the early sixth century, and a subsequent increase in commercial traffic, the construction of such citadels along major roads is to be expected.⁷⁰

Structural changes in the regional administration occurred under Heraclius, with the establishment of new geographic units or themes.⁷¹ The Hellespont region was now joined to Bithynia with a new capital at Nicaea, which lay over 300 km east of Ilion and Alexandria Troas. Although

⁶⁸ F. Krischen, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel* (Berlin 1938); R.M. Errington, *Roman Imperial Policy from Julian to Theodosius* (Chapel Hill 2006) 142–70.

⁶⁹ J. Crow, “The long walls of Thrace,” in C. Mango and G. Dagron (eds.), *Constantinople and its Hinterland* (Aldershot 1995) 109–24; G. Greatrex, “Procopius and Agathias on the defenses of the Thracian Chersonese,” in Mango and Dagron, *Constantinople* (supra this note), 125–30; J. Crow and A. Ricci, “Investigating the hinterland of Constantinople. Interim report on the Anastasian long walls,” *JRA* 10 (1997) 235–62;

J. Crow, “The infrastructure of a great city: Earth, walls and water in late antique Constantinople,” in L. Lavan, E. Zanini, and A. Sarantis (eds.), *Technology in Transition: A.D. 300–650, Late Antique Archaeology* 4.1 (Leiden 2007) 251–85.

⁷⁰ The use of window mullion fragments as spolia also points to the later date.

⁷¹ Hasluck, *Cyzicus* (supra n. 64), 193–94; J.F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century. The Transformation of a Culture* (Cambridge 1997).

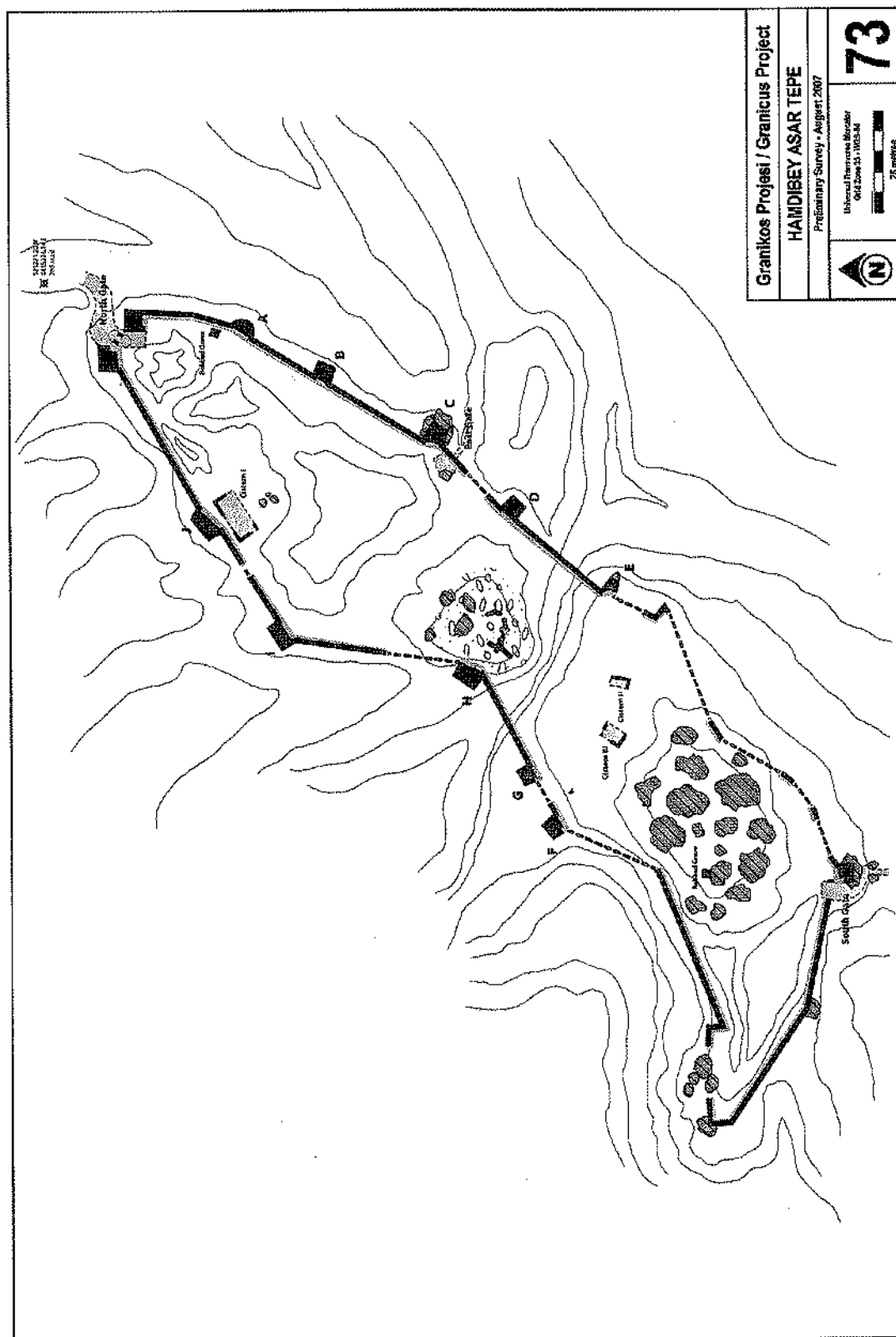


Fig. 19. The late Roman citadel at Asartepe (prepared by G. Pizzorno, Granicus River Valley Archaeological Project).

the Heraclian hoard of silver ecclesiastical spoons found at Lampsacus in 1847 attests the wealth of the local churches in the Troad, the new administrative changes clearly had a negative effect on the area's commerce.⁷² Subsequent raids by both Sassanians and Arabs further decimated the population, and there would be no recovery until the empire of Nicaea in the 13th century, and even then, it would be short-lived.⁷³

Conclusion

Research in Ilium and the Granicus river valley, city and country, has provided a significant body of evidence regarding late antique occupation in the Troad. The evidence from Ilium demonstrates the rise in the city's fortunes between A.D. 230 and 250, as well as during the second half of the fourth century. The Granicus survey, in particular, has clarified the shift in population from coastal cities to the interior after the earthquakes of ca. A.D. 500, and has elucidated the new fortification systems. Binding both areas, of course, was the Homeric tradition. The Granicus valley, like Troy, came equipped with its share of legendary landmarks, including the tombs of Memnon, Paris, and Oenone, and Ganymede's point of abduction by Zeus.⁷⁴ Although those legends would cease to be an economic engine for the Troad following the advent of Christianity, the region would continue to attract a distinguished group of visitors eager to co-opt the Homeric landscapes for their own purposes.

This was particularly apparent in the nationalist movements of medieval Europe when so many groups laid claim to Trojan ancestry, including the Franks, the Normans, and the Danes, among others.⁷⁵ Those reassessments of ethnic identity were accompanied by public speeches, some of which have survived in one form or another, and they highlight the applicability of Troy to a variety of new historical circumstances. Both Pierre of Bracheux, the French Crusader of the early 13th century, and Mehmet II, the Ottoman Sultan in the mid-15th century, reportedly delivered similarly structured speeches after their respective conquests of Byzantine Constantinople, wherein they argued that they had finally avenged the attacks on their kinsmen, the Trojans, by sacking the Greeks in Constantinople.⁷⁶ Even though Pierre and Mehmet represented very different constituencies that were often at war with each other, both claimed kinship with the Trojans, and therefore, by extension, with each other. Such striking reconfigurations of the past succinctly illustrate the power and versatility of the Trojan tradition, as well as the distinctive blend of east and west that separated the Troad from other areas with a Homeric pedigree.

⁷² S. Hauser, *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Silberlöffel* (Münster 1992) 31–42.

⁷³ Rose, "1997 excavations at Troy" (supra n. 10), 102–3; Rose, "Research at Troy, 1999" (supra n. 6), 55–61; H. Kieseewetter, "Spätbyzantinische Gräber bei der Quellhöhle in der Unterstadt von Troia/Ilium," *Studia Troica* 9 (1999) 411–35. A much larger citadel was constructed at Priapus/Pegae (modern Karabiga) during the middle and late Byzantine periods: W. Aylward, "The Byzantine fortifications at Pegae (Priapus) on the sea of Marmara," *Studia Troica* 16 (2006) 179–203.

⁷⁴ Strabo 13.1.11 (Ganymede/Memnon), 13.1.33 (Paris, Oenone).

⁷⁵ S.J. Harris, *Race and Ethnicity in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (New York 2003).

⁷⁶ D. Jacoby, "Knightly values and class consciousness in the Crusader states of the eastern Mediterranean," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 1 (1986) 170–73; Sage, "Roman visitors" (supra n. 32).

12 Anazarbos in Late Antiquity

Richard Posamentir

Without question, the appearance of most ancient cities in Asia Minor underwent significant, even fundamental changes between the fourth and the eighth centuries A.D.¹ The archaeological and architectural traces of these changes are in many cases impressively obvious, even though few written sources shed light on the various and specific processes that accompanied the transition from the antique, through the late antique, to the post-antique era. It is noteworthy that these changes happened in different ways and at different moments, if one considers, for example, the cities of eastern as opposed to western Asia Minor. These variations are due not only to the different urban structures that particular cities had from their very beginnings, but also and even more so to their different historical backgrounds, which were strongly connected to their topographical situations.

A look at the less well-explored cities of the eastern Roman empire reveals that our knowledge of this period of transition is still extremely limited, and that the prerequisites for archaeological investigations in this region are totally different from those in the west. While monumental fortification systems and impressive Christian sanctuaries of the post-antique era survive in rather good condition (though often of uncertain date), remains of earlier periods (especially of Hellenistic and Roman imperial times) have vanished almost entirely. It is no coincidence that only a few publications by classical archaeologists are devoted to the cities in the area east of modern Adana and that

The Anazarbos field survey 2004–2007 was a joint project of Istanbul University (Prof. Dr. M. H. Sayar) and the German Archaeological Institute, Istanbul branch.

¹ The following abbreviations will be used in this paper: Foss, "Cities" = C. Foss, "The Cities of Pamphylia in the Byzantine age" in idem, *Cities, Fortresses and Villages of Byzantine Asia Minor* (Aldershot 1996) 1–62.

Gough, "Anazarbus" = M. Gough, "Anazarbus," *AnatSt* 2 (1952) 85–150.

Hellenkemper, "Stadtmauern" = H. Hellenkemper, "Die Stadtmauern von Anazarbos / Ayn Zarba," in W. Diem and A. Falaturi (eds.), *XXIV. Deutscher Orientalistentag, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* Suppl. 8 (Stuttgart 1990) 71–76.

Hellenkemper = F. Hild, H. Hellenkemper, and G. Hellenkemper-Salies, "Kommagene-Kilikien-Isaurien," *Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst* IV (1990) 191–356.

Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien* = F. Hild and H. Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien, Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 5 (Vienna 1990).

Posamentir, "Säulenstrasse" = R. Posamentir, "Ohne Mass und Ziel?—Anmerkungen zur Säulenstrasse von Anazarbos,"

in I. Delemen et al. (eds.), *Euergetes. Festschrift für Haluk Abbasoğlu zum 65. Geburtstag* (Istanbul 2008) 1013–33.

Posamentir, "Innovation" = R. Posamentir, "Innovation und Kulturtransfer in Anazarbos, der einstigen Metropole Kilikiens," in F. Pirson and U. Wulf-Rheidt (eds.), *Austausch und Inspiration. Kolloquium anlässlich des 65. Geburtstages von Adolf Hoffmann* (Berlin 2008) 89–106.

Posamentir and Sayar, "Anazarbos" = R. Posamentir and M.H. Sayar, "Anazarbos—ein Zwischenbericht aus der Metropole des Ebenen Kilikien," *IstMitt* 56 (2006) 317–57.

Sayar, *Inschriften* = M.H. Sayar, *Die Inschriften von Anazarbos und Umgebung I, Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* 56 (Bonn 2000).

For changes in cities in Asia Minor between the fourth and eighth centuries A.D., cf. D. Claude, *Die byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert* (Munich 1969); A. Cameron, *The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity AD 395–600* (London and New York 1993); J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (Oxford 2001); B. Brenk, "Zur Christianisierung der spätrömischen Stadt im östlichen Mittelmeerraum," in G. Brands and H.-G. Severin (eds.), *Die spätantike Stadt und ihre Christianisierung* (Wiesbaden 2003) 85–95.

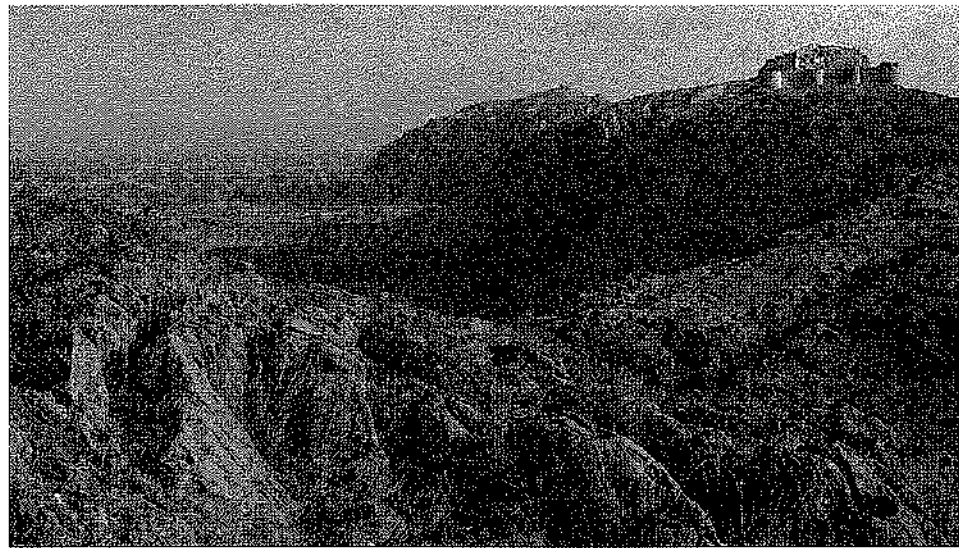


Fig. 1. View of the urban area of Anazarbos and the mountain range with the Armenian castle on top, from the south (R. Posamentir).

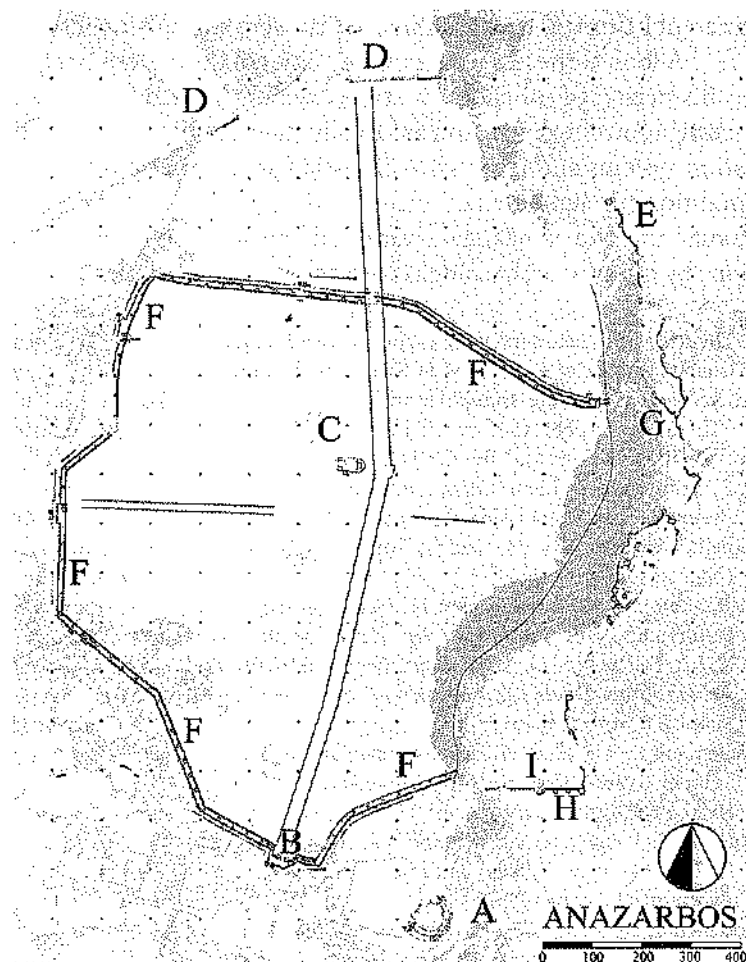


Fig. 2. Schematic overall plan of the urban area of Anazarbos, showing only selected monuments:

- A = Theater
- B = Monumental arch
- C = Church of the Apostles
- D = First circuit wall (Theodosian?)
- E = Section of the first circuit wall on top of the rock
- F = Second circuit wall (Justinian?)
- G = Section of the second circuit wall on top of the rock
- H = Armenian walls
- I = Byzantine gate (Justinian?) (H. Birk/R. Posamentir)

many sites are dealt with only in rather superficial reports, which—understandably—have had to leave many questions unanswered.

Still, this situation is not only the result of insufficient preservation of monuments of the pre-late antique era; another fact must be held responsible as well. The cities of the east were in danger of being overrun by intruders from the south and east much earlier and for a much longer period than the cities of the west. Therefore, one of the most fascinating problems revolves around the question whether indications of decline in the ancient cities of eastern Asia Minor were solely the result of an inevitable “process of ruralization” or “deurbanization” during Christian late antiquity, or whether they should be seen in direct connection with the Arab threat and later the early Islamic era.² This specific question will be addressed in the following pages with the aid of evidence from a place called Anazarbos.

The spectacular site of Anazarbos (fig. 1), a city of the Roman Near East, located some 60 km northeast of modern Adana, carries the name of a large and 4.5 km-long range of hills that rises more than 220 m above the Çukurova plain.³ At its foot, along the western side and on top of an obviously much smaller Hellenistic predecessor, stretches a Roman city of the same name, covering an area of about 250 acres. The city gained enormous strategic importance during the second half of the second century and the first half of the third century A.D. for Roman troops on their way to the east.⁴

Of the Hellenistic period, only a handful of pottery sherds have been found so far, but more remains of the Roman imperial era survive (fig. 2). In certain areas, at least traces of an orthogonal grid system can be discerned, arranged along a monumental north-south oriented colonnaded street, which was up to 34 m wide and 1.75 km long.⁵ This disproportionately wide street terminates at both ends in archways,⁶ and has recently been carefully studied.⁷ A second main street, likewise accompanied by columns, crosses the city from west to east. The unusual combination of theater, amphitheater, and circus can be observed in the south part of the city, right next to or possibly in the middle of three wide-ranging necropoleis, dated from the first century B.C. to approximately the sixth century A.D.⁸ City walls apparently did not exist during the Roman imperial period, while several public buildings, including two baths, a basilica (?), and at least three sanctuaries (located along the main axes) have been partially detected by means of geophysical prospection.⁹ Coins from the first century A.D. onward show a massive castle on the rock above the city.¹⁰ However, actual remains from this era are scarce on top of the hills, apart from a huge grave monument,¹¹ a propylon,¹² and a processional staircase leading directly to a huge foundation of stone and mortar, which most likely

² Cf. for example Foss, “Cities,” 43–45, 48–50.

³ Gough, “Anazarbus,” 92; Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, 179; Sayar, *Inschriften*, 9–10 no. LZ 1–6.

⁴ For an overview see Gough, “Anazarbus,” 85–150; Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, 178–85; and most recently Posamentir and Sayar, “Anazarbos,” 317–57.

⁵ Posamentir and Sayar, “Anazarbos,” 343, fig. 31; Posamentir, “Säulenstrasse,” 1025, fig. 2.

⁶ For the north arch see Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, pl. 67, or recently Posamentir and Sayar, “Anazarbos,” 330–31, fig. 14.

⁷ Posamentir, “Säulenstrasse,” 1013–33.

⁸ Posamentir and Sayar, “Anazarbos,” 351–54, figs. 41–45; for one especially interesting rock chamber tomb with relief decoration, see recently U. Kelp, “Darüber wachen Verder-

ben und Schrecken und Todeslos: Erinyen als Grabwächter: Zum Eunuchengrab in Anazarbos,” in I. Delmen et al. (eds.), *Euergetes. Festschrift für Haluk Abbasoğlu zum 65. Geburtstag* (Istanbul 2008) 675–98.

⁹ See Posamentir and Sayar, “Anazarbos,” 343–45, figs. 31–33; Posamentir, “Säulenstrasse,” 1017, figs. 13–14; 1019–21, fig. 26.

¹⁰ R. Ziegler, *Kaiser, Heer und städtisches Geld. Untersuchungen zur Münzprägung von Anazarbos und anderer ostkilikischer Städte*, ETAM 16 (Vienna 1993) 29 nos. 35–43, pls. 1–2.

¹¹ Posamentir and Sayar, “Anazarbos,” 340–42, figs. 28–29; Posamentir, “Innovation,” 102–5, fig. 15.

¹² Posamentir and Sayar, “Anazarbos,” 339–40, fig. 27.

once carried the temple of Aphrodite Kasalitis.¹³ Almost all other remains on top of the rock belong to several building phases from presumably the sixth to the 14th centuries.

Otherwise, the post-Roman imperial eras are represented by two circuits of fortification walls, the first embracing almost the entire Roman city (cutting off only a short section of the colonnaded street at its north end)¹⁴ and only partially preserved. The second, more impressive and doubtless later in date, is almost fully intact in its lower levels and reduces the inhabited area significantly.¹⁵ Inside and outside of the two fortification rings, at least six huge church complexes can be distinguished,¹⁶ in some places well preserved and in other places recognizable only through remote sensing, while a remarkable number of large but ramshackle peristyle-like structures and smaller brick buildings cover the whole area.¹⁷ It is noteworthy that both of the latter classes of buildings are to a significant degree not aligned with the Roman grid plan, and must therefore be considered post-antique. A third arch with five passages in the south-central part of the city proper corresponds to the colonnaded street with its porticoes and taverns and should also be considered post-antique, in view of its manner of construction, its extensive use of spolia, and its architectural design, including projecting Christian symbols.¹⁸

Since this contribution is focused on the cities of Asia Minor and their transformation from Roman imperial times to late antiquity, two very specific complexes of problems will be treated here. In the first place, an investigation of this process of transformation in Anazarbos should attempt to respond to questions such as:

- 1) What exactly happened to the city, and what is actually visible to us from what happened?
- 2) How and why did the organization and structure of Anazarbos change?
- 3) Can these visible changes be correlated with specific dates or historical circumstances?

In the second place, and closely connected to these subjects, is the issue of the way in which the inhabitants of the late antique era treated the architectural and structural remains of the preceding period.

Although these are wide-ranging questions that cannot be fully resolved here, I hope nevertheless to be able to show that certain phenomena that occurred in Anazarbos can add valuable information to our understanding of this very interesting time of dynamic change. Naturally, these phenomena can only be mentioned briefly here, but they might be of importance not only for the region, but for other sites as well, namely, sites where:

- 1) similar phenomena are well known and already well documented,
- 2) the same phenomena are known but not properly interpreted, or
- 3) these phenomena have simply been overlooked until now.

Starting with minor details it will soon become clear that all of the following observations are in one way or another connected with each other.

¹³ For the inscriptions, see Sayar, *Inschriften*, 40–41 nos. 29–34, pl. 25; for the cult, see M.H. Sayar, "Aphrodite Kasalitis in Anazarbos," in M. Meyer and R. Ziegler (eds.), *Kulturbegriff in einem Brückenland: Gottheiten und Kulte als Indikatoren von Akkulturationsprozessen im Ebenen Kilikien, Asia Minor Studien* 53 (Bonn 2004) 185–89; 239–42 nos. 35–39; and, for the tentative identification of the sanctuary, see Posamentir and Sayar, "Anazarbos," 337–39, figs. 23–26.

¹⁴ Posamentir, "Säulenstrasse," 1021, fig. 26.

¹⁵ Hellenkemper, "Stadtmauern," 71–76; Posamentir, "Innovation," 93–95, fig. 4.

¹⁶ For the three most prominent ones see Hellenkemper, 198–201, figs. 6–7.

¹⁷ Posamentir and Sayar, "Anazarbos," 332–33, figs. 16–17.

¹⁸ C.J. Williams, *The Development of Monumental Street Architecture* (Ph.D. thesis, London 1979) 178–79; Posamentir and Sayar, "Anazarbos," 329–30, figs. 10–13; Posamentir, "Säulenstrasse," 1016–17, figs. 8–13.



Fig. 3. Outer face of the Roman imperial arch at the southernmost end of the colonnaded street, from the south (R. Posamentir).



Fig. 4. Inner face of the Roman imperial arch at the southernmost end of the colonnaded street, from the north (R. Posamentir).

One of the few well-preserved monuments of Roman imperial times is represented by an impressive triumphal arch in the south part of the city of Anazarbos.¹⁹ Although severely damaged by occasional earthquakes, it is still a showpiece of Roman craftsmanship of the late second century A.D. and can be fully reconstructed, because all of its architectural elements are either still in situ or are lying around the structure. However, the arch itself, which forms the beginning of one of the longest and widest colonnaded streets of antiquity, has two very different faces. The side facing the area outside of the city is well preserved, while the inner side is completely blank; almost all of its decorative architectural elements have been removed and are nowhere to be found in the vicinity (figs. 3–4).

The question immediately arises why the outer façade remained so remarkably well preserved—and even why the monument as a whole is still standing—while within the city proper, not much else of the original architectural fabric remains.²⁰ And furthermore, to where did the architectural elements of the inner side disappear? The first question is relatively easy to answer, since the whole arch with its original three passages was integrated into the second (and perhaps also the first) fortification circuit mentioned above, which partly enclosed the area

of the Roman imperial city. Looking at the ground plan of the monumental arch and its immediate vicinity, it is clear that the circuit walls respected the existence of the porticoes that start there and that accompany the colonnaded street (fig. 5). This detail would suggest that the old structures were still

¹⁹ Gough, "Anazarbus," 110–13; P. Verzone, "Città ellenistiche e romane dell'Asia Minore: Anazarbos," *Palladio* N.S. 7 (1957) 9–25, at 13–24; Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, 181, fig. 68; Posamentir and Sayar, "Anazarbos," 325–27, fig. 8; 330–31; 334–36, fig. 20; Posamentir, "Säulenstrasse," 1015–16, figs. 2–5.

²⁰ Cf. Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, figs. 71, 77, 79–82; Sayar, *Inschriften*, pls. 1–4; and most recently Posamentir and Sayar, "Anazarbos," 318, fig. 1.

in good shape and in use when the fortifications were built. It would seem likely, therefore, that the arch was meant to serve at the time of the construction of the walls as a city gate, representing the wealth and splendor of the city to visitors from outside. The outer façade, therefore, was left untouched and formed a true "Porta Aurea" of Anazarbos, while the inner side was of minor importance and could be relieved—so to speak—of its decoration. In any case, the contrast between the elaborately ornamented outer façade and the modest, almost shabby inner side is characteristic of city gates of the late antique era, as more prominent examples in other cities of Asia Minor suggest.

The fact remains that the people who erected the walls obviously paid specific attention to the preservation of the monument, even though it might not have been the most practical and valuable part of a strong fortification system.²¹ On the other hand, the architectural decoration of the inner side, which was not needed to represent the city's splendor to the outside world, was obviously an attractive source of materials for reuse in other buildings. If one searches for the architectural decoration that once adorned the inner side of the arch, one almost immediately encounters a huge church complex within the city center, the so-called Church of the Apostles.²² This structure is built almost entirely out of reused stones,²³ and the origin of some of the spolia can be easily determined: the north side incorporates various elements of a huge temple complex that has been detected in the north part of the city (outside the second circuit wall), while the south side consists of architraves, friezes, and *geisa* which are extremely similar to the missing blocks of the triumphal

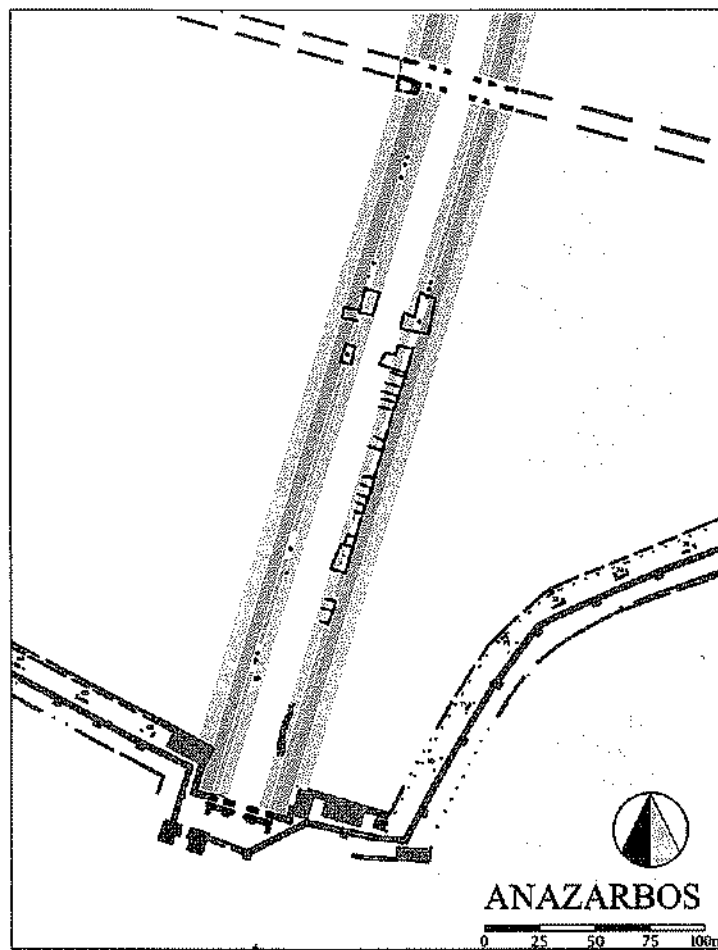


Fig. 5. Schematic plan of the southernmost section of the colonnaded street with late antique additions constraining its original width; the four lines to each side represent the paved pedestrian way, the course of columns, the porticoes, and the taverns (from inside to outside) (H. Birk/R. Posamentir).

²¹ Cf. the somehow similar situation in Constantinople, which led to the discussion whether the "Porta Aurea" must be dated earlier than the adjacent walls. See B. Meyer-Plath and A.M. Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel. Teil 2. Denkmäler antiker Architektur* 8 (Berlin 1943) 42–44.

²² Gough, "Anazarbus," 116–18, figs. 7–8; Hellenkemper,

198–201, fig. 6; G. Mietke, "Die Apostelkirche von Anazarbos und Syrien," *Olba* 2 (1999) 227–39; Posamentir and Sayar, "Anazarbos," 334–36, figs. 18–20.

²³ Already mentioned by F.W. Deichmann, "Die Spolien in der spätantiken Architektur," *SBMünch* 6 (Munich 1975) 34–36.



Fig. 7. Projection of the polygonal apse of the Church of the Apostles (northern face) with reworked tendriled frieze blocks in the socle zone, from the southeast (R. Posamentir).

Fig. 6. One of the granite columns of the outer face of the Roman imperial arch, now lying in the apse of the Church of the Apostles in the city center (R. Posamentir).

arch.²⁴ The friezes are too small and too heterogeneous to have been part of the monumental gate, but the *geisa* likely belonged to the arch or at least the adjacent halls (the latter might hold true for some of the frieze blocks and architraves as well). The columns that lie inside the apse of the church, on the other hand, were almost certainly taken from the monumental arch (fig. 6).

Truly remarkable is the care and respect that craftsmen of around A.D. 500—the approximate date of the construction of the church²⁵—paid to three- or four-hundred-year-old blocks. The friezes, especially, are not only reused, but even partly "reanimated" by the addition of new bands of ornament or even entire new blocks with decorative elements carved in the style of the second or third centuries. This becomes apparent in certain places, in which spolia of different date, style, and motif are connected with the aid of so-called "architectural ties" in order to effect smooth transitions.²⁶ Some of these "imitations" are so accurate and well done that one has to look twice to determine what is old and what is new (fig. 7). And it is certainly possible that this practice is also more frequent than has been realized in other places.²⁷ A comprehensive study of this phenomenon at Anazarbos is in preparation and has already shown, for example, that various types of friezes from at least four different ancient buildings were reused and assembled in the manner described.²⁸ A similar handling

²⁴ Posamentir and Sayar, "Anazarbos," 334–35, fig. 19.

²⁵ Mietke, "Apostelkirche" (supra n. 22), 236–37.

²⁶ Posamentir, "Innovation," 92–93, figs. 2–3.

²⁷ Cf. in general H. Brandenburg, "Die Verwendung von Spolien und originalen Werkstücken in der spätantiken Architektur," in J. Poeschke (ed.), *Antike Spolien in der Architektur des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Munich 1996) 11–48; idem, "Prachtentfaltung und Monumentalität als Bauaufgaben frühchristlicher Kirchenbaukunst," in J.

Gebauer et al. (eds.), *Bildergeschichte. Festschrift für Klaus Stähler* (Möhnesee 2004) 59–76.

For a comparable process in northern Italy, see C. Jäggi, "Spolie oder Neuanfertigung? Überlegungen zur Bauskulptur des Tempietto sul Clitunno," in U. Peschlow and S. Möllers (eds.), *Spätantike und byzantinische Bauskulptur* (Stuttgart 1998) 105–11.

²⁸ I. Engelmann and P. Niewöhner, "Bauen nach der Krise. Die Spoliengalerie an der Apsis der Apostelkirche

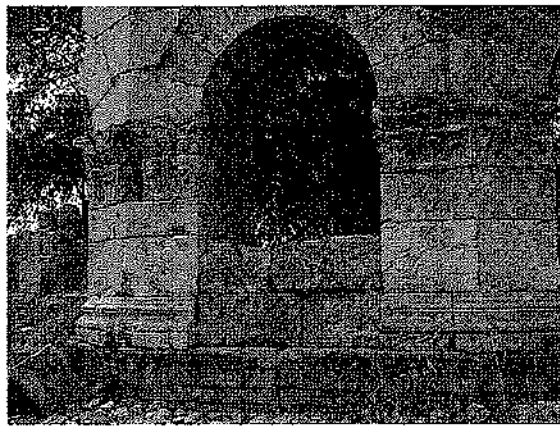


Fig. 8. View of the outer face of the apse of the church next to the colonnaded street in Hierapolis Kastabala with architraves in the socle zone, from the west (R. Posamentir).

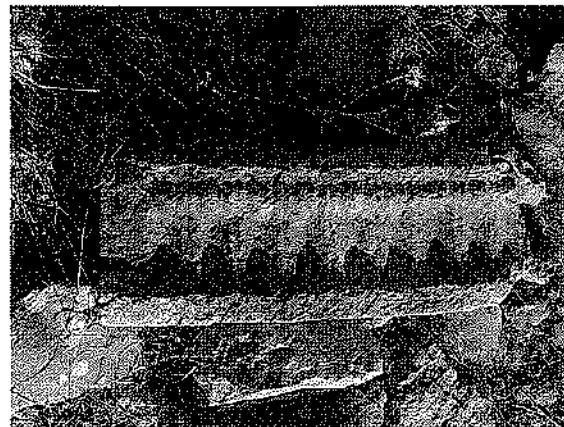


Fig. 9. Newly produced architectural element (pipe frieze) from one of the churches in Akören imitating antique models (R. Posamentir).

of comparable spolia can also be seen in old photographs taken by Gertrude Bell in the area of the three other gates in the second circuit wall (see fig. 19).

Interestingly, a similarly respectful handling of spolia can also be detected at sites closely related to Anazarbos (since Anazarbos was their metropolis); this can be seen, for example, in one of the churches in Hierapolis Kastabala,²⁹ where architraves were reused in a similar position (fig. 8), thoughtfully assembled, although here without imitations. Some antique capitals have also been reused here in a very careful way. In other places, such as Akören, for example,³⁰ where no original material from Roman imperial times was at hand, craftsmen actually imitated earlier architectural elements, such as pipe friezes (fig. 9). In this case, however, the skills of the craftsmen were simply not adequate to deceive the viewer. It is no coincidence that the capitals from these churches are among the oddest creations in the entire region. In any case, it is clear that the people who erected the Church of the Apostles in Anazarbos and related provincial buildings held great respect for an earlier era of wealth and splendor; the respectful reuse of earlier blocks might even be described as a conscious referential process, establishing a bridge between two epochs.³¹ A similarly referential process is apparent in the topographical situation of the Church of the Apostles, as the examination of the building in its larger context shows.

Upon close inspection of the results of the remote sensing that revealed part of the grid plan of the Roman city, a clear structural difference becomes visible between the areas inside and outside the second circuit walls, which were erected at an as yet uncertain date (fig. 10). The orthogonal organization of the city has almost completely dissolved in the city center. When did this happen, and why?

In order to answer these questions, it is necessary first to consider the datable late antique buildings, in order to determine whether or not they respected the urban layout of the Roman city.

von Anazarbos," in D. Kreikenbom (ed.), *Krise und Kult. Vorderer Orient und Nordafrika von Aurelian bis Justinian*, *Millennium Studies* 28 (Mainz 2010) 109–37.

²⁹ O. Feld, "Die beiden Kirchen in Hierapolis Kastabala," in idem (ed.), *Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst* 1, F.W. Deichmann gewidmet (Bonn 1986) 77–86.

³⁰ U. Wulf-Rheidt, "Akören. Zur Stadtplanung und Wohnarchitektur zweier Siedlungen in Kilikien," in G. Brands and H.-G. Severin (eds.), *Die spätantike Stadt und ihre Christianisierung* (Wiesbaden 2003) 299–307.

³¹ Cf. for example the church of Julianos in Bräd for a similar process; C. Strube, *Die "Toten Städte." Stadt und Land in Nordsyrien während der Spätantike* (Mainz 1996) 36, fig. 64b.

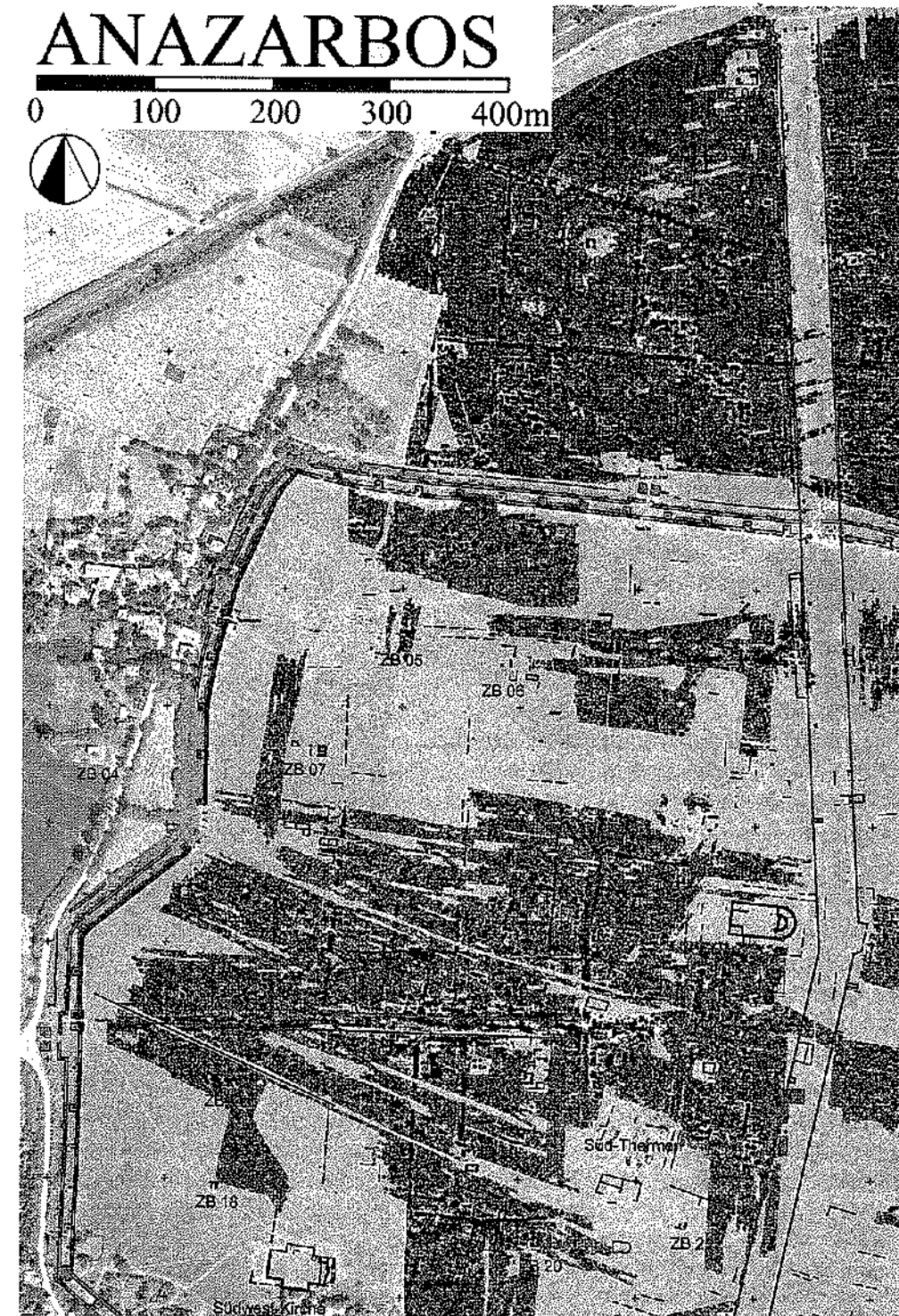


Fig. 10. Differences in urban structure between the areas inside and outside the circuit walls; results of remote sensing work (geomagnetic survey) show the orthogonal grid plan from Roman imperial times outside and the typical phenomenon of "deurbanization" inside (H. Birk/H. Stümpel).

Immediately outside the enclosing walls of the second circuit, and in the middle of the grid-planned part of the city, a tetra- or triconch building is perfectly visible in both the geomagnetic and the georadar images (fig. 11).³² Surface finds, including glass mosaic tesserae, marble panels of various colors, and diagnostic architectural elements prove that the interpretation of this structure as a Christian sanctuary is correct. Similar structures are well known from the fourth and especially fifth centuries, but most interesting for us at this point is the precision with which the building is integrated into the former insula system. It seems that the church, perhaps a "martyrion," was erected at a time when the urban structures of Roman Anazarbos were still fully functional.

The impression made by looking at the aforementioned Church of the Apostles in the city center is similar: again, both the orientation and the layout seem to respect older structures. Perhaps this orientation was even determined by an earlier, pagan sanctuary upon which the church was built, as one would be tempted to assume in view of its prominent location. Moreover, the entrance to an enclosure-like area around the church, formed by an ornamented door made of spolia,³³ is exactly aligned with the back wall of the tabernae flanking the colonnaded street (fig. 12). The unusual plan of the church with a passage around the apse allows the dating of the structure to around A.D. 500.³⁴ Indeed, a similar type of church in Akören, a small village dependent on Anazarbos, can be securely dated by an inscription and should be slightly later in time.³⁵

A somewhat similar case in Anazarbos that can be dated precisely—according to an inscription—to the year A.D. 516 is the so-called Rock-cut Church.³⁶ It does not lie within the city proper, but is also equipped with a comparable surrounding enclosure, including a monumental gate and important architectural decoration. As this structure has a very different orientation,³⁷ it can probably be assumed that the Church of the Apostles followed an older alignment. Another monument that matches these observations is the aforementioned arch (or probably better considered a monumental crossing) in the south-

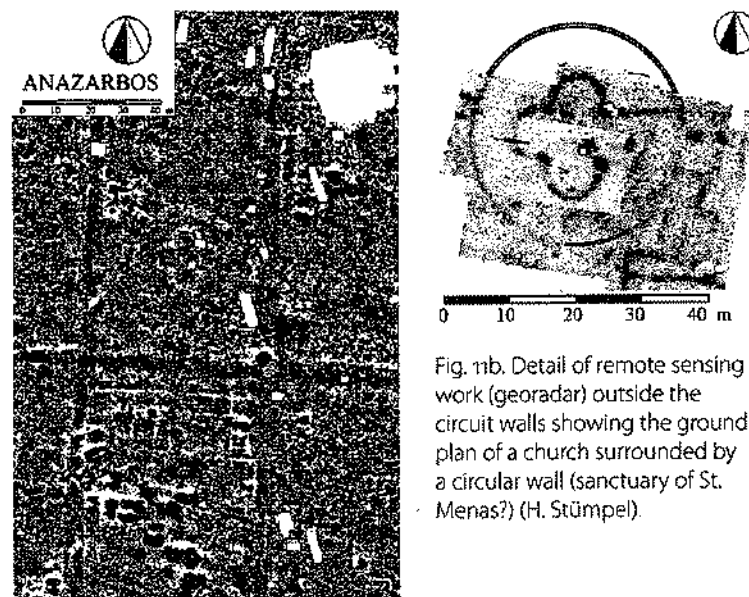


Fig. 11a. Detail of remote sensing work (geomagnetic survey) outside the circuit walls showing the orthogonal grid plan from Roman imperial times and a three- or four-leaved, light anomaly embedded within the antique insula system (H. Stümpel).

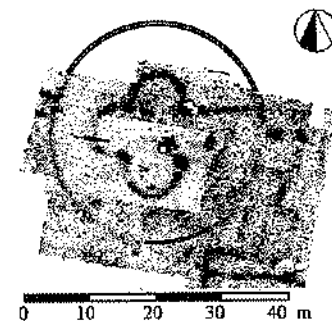


Fig. 11b. Detail of remote sensing work (georadar) outside the circuit walls showing the ground plan of a church surrounded by a circular wall (sanctuary of St. Menas?) (H. Stümpel).

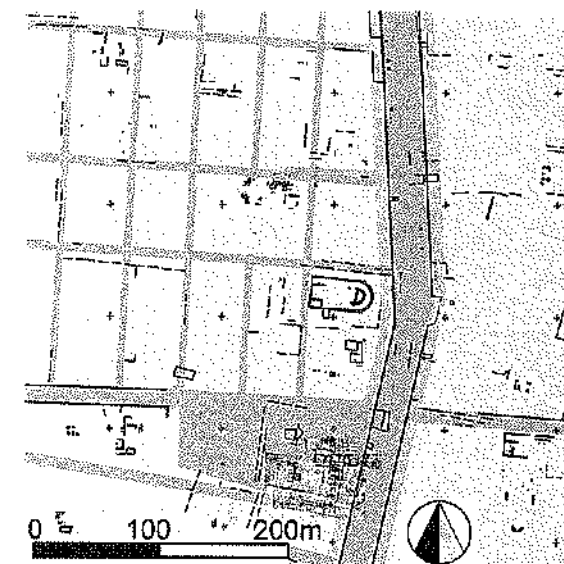


Fig. 12a. Schematic and tentative reconstruction of Roman imperial grid plan within the city center (based on remote sensing and surface survey), showing the correspondence of the Church of the Apostles with the former insula system (R. Posamentir).

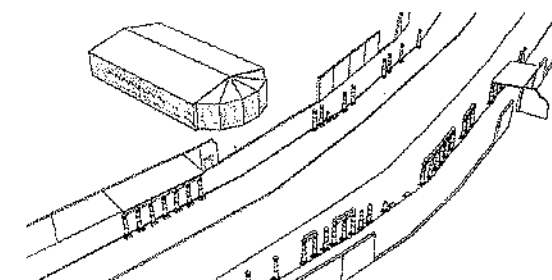


Fig. 12b. Schematic reconstruction showing the spatial relationship between the colonnaded street and the Church of the Apostles (I. Engelmänn).

already proposed by Friedrich Hild and Hansgerd Hellenkemper,⁴² would go well together with the promotion of Anazarbos to the metropolis of the province Cilicia Secunda and, furthermore, would match sources of this time concerning the looting and reuse of pagan sanctuaries perfectly.⁴³ Since

central part of the city. Building techniques, the reuse of certain architectural elements, and the various crosses again suggest a date around A.D. 500. With its five passages, the building clearly responds to the composition of the colonnaded street.³⁸ At that time and at least in this area, the main axis of the city obviously still existed in its original layout. Not far from this point a well-known phenomenon can be observed, which might in fact be contemporary (or slightly later), namely the inclusion of the other triumphal arch into the large fortification system; since the three entrances of the arch did not exactly conform to the requirements of a functioning and successful defense system, the two side passages were blocked. It is tempting to assume that the reduction of the width of the colonnaded street by the construction of taberna-like installations, right next to the arch and consisting of shabby cross walls, was also undertaken at this time.³⁹

Nevertheless, all of these structures seem to indicate that the organization of the city was still very much like that of the Roman imperial period, and that the fundamental urban transformation did not take place before the sixth century. Closely connected with late Roman developments are—as already mentioned and beyond any doubt—the fortification walls, which seemingly have no earlier predecessors.⁴⁰ The first circuit ("D" on fig. 2; in the south part underneath "F"), here described briefly, embraced almost the entire Roman city and was almost wholly erased, like so many other buildings of the city. The blocks in the still extant parts originally belonged in all identifiable cases to pagan sanctuaries, some of which can even be identified.⁴¹ A Theodosian dating,

³⁸ Williams, "Development" (supra n. 18), 178–79; Posamentir, "Säulenstrasse," 1016–17, figs. 8–13.

³⁹ Posamentir, "Säulenstrasse," 1015, fig. 3.

⁴⁰ Posamentir, "Innovation," 93–94, fig. 4.

⁴¹ Posamentir and Sayar, "Anazarbos," 343–45, figs. 31–33.

⁴² Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, 181–82, fig. 69.

⁴³ H.-R. Meier, "Alte Tempel—neue Kulte. Zum Schutz obsoletter Sakralbauten in der Spätantike und zur Adaption alter Bauten an den christlichen Kult," in B. Brenk (ed.), *Inno-*

³² Posamentir and Sayar, "Anazarbos," 343–44, fig. 31.

³³ Posamentir, "Säulenstrasse," 1019, fig. 19.

³⁴ Deichmann, "Spolien" (supra n. 23), 34–35; Hellenkemper, 198–201.

³⁵ Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, 169, figs. 45–48; Mietke, "Apostelkirche" (supra n. 22), 237.

³⁶ Gough, "Anazarbus," 108, 137 no. 14; Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, 182; Sayar, *Inschriften*, 53, no. 62, pl. 23.

³⁷ Posamentir and Sayar, "Anazarbos," 336–37, fig. 21.

the remarkable differences between orthogonal grid and chaotic confusion can both be detected within this very circle, the walls of the first fortification ring are obviously not relevant for our question. It is only interesting to point out that certain walls on top of the rock overlooking the city obviously correspond with this ring wall in the plain, as is not surprising ("E" on fig. 2).

The second circuit wall ("F" on fig. 2), on the other hand, merits close examination.⁴⁴ This wall consists of three different elements (fig. 13): a fortified ditch, a forewall, and a main wall. The last exhibits in its construction a division between huge limestone blocks in the lower courses, and smaller, softer, and lighter stones in the upper courses; the forewall and ditch wall are built entirely of the aforementioned large and heavy limestone blocks. A brief glance at these blocks reveals that nearly the entire Roman imperial city and its building materials have been pillaged in order to erect the second ring wall. As we have already seen, clear differences between the city structure inside and outside these walls were revealed by remote sensing; this means that the construction of the walls and the transformation of the city can be seen as related, and indeed, as different aspects of a single process.

A smooth transition from order to chaos between the sixth and eighth centuries, initiated by the same people who had previously inhabited the city and simply because of altered circumstances, does not seem very likely. Under what circumstances, then, is such a process imaginable? It is possible that the orthogonal street system of the Roman city disappeared so completely in the city center, simply because there were actually no structures left to indicate it. And there were possibly no structures left, because all of the earlier building materials had been used to construct the walls. Moreover, these walls could have been built—and the structures that provided the necessary building materials demolished—without any resistance by the city's inhabitants, because the city had already been severely damaged by a catastrophe—either natural or manmade. Here especially the earthquakes of the sixth century come to mind, as well as the Arab threat and eventual conquest of around A.D. 800.

vation in der Spätantike (Wiesbaden 1996) 361–76, esp. 368; K.L. Noethlichs, "Baurecht und Religionspolitik: Vorchristlicher und christlicher Städtebau der römischen Kaiserzeit im Lichte weltlicher und kirchlicher Rechtsvorschriften," in

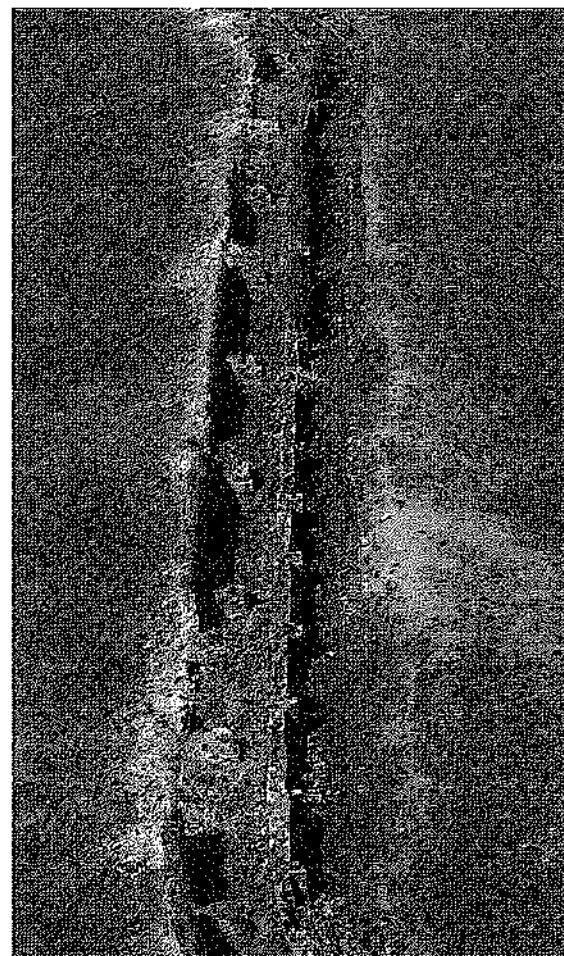


Fig. 13. View from the rock of Anazarbos of the northern section of the tripartite circuit wall with its main wall (with demolished towers), its forewall, and a fortified ditch, from the east (R. Posamentir).

G. Brands and H.-G. Severin (eds.), *Die spätantike Stadt und ihre Christianisierung* (Wiesbaden 2003) 179–97, esp. 191.

⁴⁴ Posamentir, "Innovation," 96–103, figs. 6–14d.

Still other explanations are also plausible: the process of "deurbanizing" an existing city could be due to a radical change that was ultimately caused by intruders; in this case it would be the Arabs overrunning Anazarbos in ca. A.D. 800. The process of demolition might be attributed to the need for different structures built according to different settlement traditions. Again, the clue for this problem seems to lie within the walls, in particular whether they were erected by the Byzantines or by the Arabs. In order to find answers to these questions, an extensive survey of these walls was carried out in the season of 2007, with several goals in mind.

First, the stones reused in these walls might not only offer information concerning the date of the fortification systems, but might also enable us to understand more about the development of the city itself. A statistical approach after accurate documentation of all datable stones should tell us about periods of extensive building activity in contrast to times without any or only restricted architectural output. Preliminary results suggest that the latest spolia used for building the walls can be dated to the sixth century.

Second, and equally important, we pursued the question as to which classes of architectural elements had actually been used to erect the walls and whether all types of buildings from both inside and outside the walls had been included, or whether certain building types had been spared. In this connection, the state of preservation of at least two huge church complexes and one Christian gateway within the enclosed area seems significant, especially since no other stone buildings except these three within the city proper seem to have been spared, whereas the material obtained from at least two churches on the outside obviously were used for the walls.

Apart from new evidence gathered from the survey of the walls, it should also be mentioned that two theories concerning the dating and origin of the walls have already been proposed. They will be briefly presented here, in order to provide a background for a better understanding of this process. One theory was presented by Michael Gough, who carried out two field surveys in Anazarbos in the middle of the 20th century. In his reports he expressed the opinion that a first phase (the lower levels of these walls) should be interpreted as Byzantine, while a second phase, represented by the upper section of the main walls, probably should be ascribed to the Armenian occupation, which extended from the 12th to the 14th century.⁴⁵ In Gough's view, the similarity between the upper levels of the walls and the stonework of the Armenian fortification systems on top of the overlooking rock would justify such an assumption. Furthermore, the staircases leading up to the wall-walks would also appear to be very similar to those of the upper fortifications.

Arguments against Gough's interpretation can easily be raised. Staircases of this type are similar in construction in all epochs for technical reasons.⁴⁶ The walls on top of the rock are in fact completely different in both building material and technique: a different kind of stone was used in a different way by the Armenian architects. Armenian occupation was—as shown by the results of an extensive pottery survey—in any case limited to the settlement on top of the hills during the 12th through 14th centuries.

In a brief paper published in a conference volume in 1988, Hellenkemper (agreeing with Gough on the existence of two phases of construction) proposed that the walls of Anazarbos should be dated to the ninth and 10th centuries respectively, both phases falling in the period of Arab occupation.⁴⁷ His main pieces of evidence were two inscriptions (lost today) recording enormous sums of money spent by Mutawakkil and finally Saifaddaula for the renovation, and eventually even the new erection, of the walls

⁴⁵ Gough, "Anazarbus," 103–4.

⁴⁶ Posamentir, "Innovation," 95–98, fig. 9.

⁴⁷ Hellenkemper, "Stadtmauern," 71–76.

of Anazarbos.⁴⁸ Hellenkemper views as additional proof the horseshoe-like shape of the gates, ornaments such as the twisted fillets (both being decisive for the dating of the upper levels only), and some signs painted on a few blocks, possibly Kufic mason marks.⁴⁹ According to Hellenkemper, a first enclosing wall consisting of only a ditch and a rather thin wall with retaining pillars serving as towers was built in the ninth century, while in the 10th century this wall was partly demolished in order to construct the lower levels of the main wall with the stone material previously used for the upper levels of the forewall (fig. 14).

Arguments against Hellenkemper's theory can also easily be found. The gates of the main walls correspond with the old street system, while the slightly displaced gates of the forewall do not, which would mean that architects would have neglected existing traffic ties in the ninth century, but would have returned to them some generations later, which seems unlikely.⁵⁰ The displaced gates of the forewall, on the other hand, are more common than one might suppose; they can be seen in late antique fortification systems, for example, such as those in Dara, Martyropolis, and Antiocheia ad Orontes.

In addition, the southern part of the main wall is built almost entirely of stone seats from the nearby theater.⁵¹ If the forewall had been erected first, either the theater seats would have remained unused in the ninth century, and then in the 10th century been transported across the fortification ditch, or, alternatively, they would have first formed the upper part of the forewall, which seems unlikely in view of static considerations.

Several inscriptions mentioning repair and building activities in the sixth century are also at hand, and do not seem to belong to the first circuit wall.⁵² Moreover, horseshoe-shaped gates can no longer be viewed only as a characteristic feature of Arab building techniques; they are just as possible in Byzantine times, and the same holds true for the twisted fillets.⁵³ Last but not least, the retaining pillars seem far too small to have served as towers.

⁴⁸ Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, 180, 183.

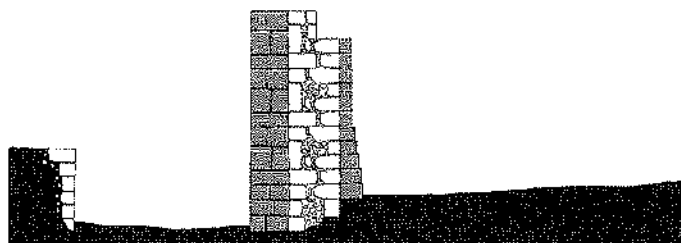
⁴⁹ Hellenkemper, "Stadtmauern," 76 pl. 12.

⁵⁰ Posamentir, "Innovation," 97–100, fig. 11.

⁵¹ Posamentir and Sayar, "Anazarbos," 346–47, figs. 34–35.

⁵² Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, 179–83; M.H. Sayar, "Mauererneuerungsinschriften aus Anazarbos," *Epigraphica Anatolica* 29 (1997) 111–15; Sayar, *Inschriften*, 32–34.

phase I



phase II

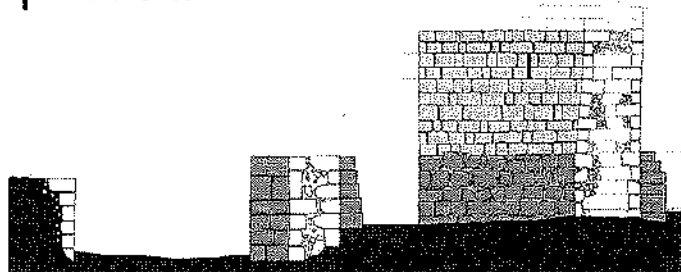


Fig. 14. Reconstructed cross-section of the two (Arab) construction phases of the tripartite circuit wall according to H. Hellenkemper (I. Engelmann).

⁵³ Posamentir, "Innovation," 102–3, fig. 14b–d; cf. A. Arbeiter, "Die Anfänge der Quaderarchitektur im westgotenzeitlichen Hispanien," in B. Brenk (ed.), *Innovation in der Spätantike* (Wiesbaden 1996) 11–51, at 34 pls. 5–7; C. Strube, *Baudekoration im nordsyrischen Kalksteinmassiv*, Bd. 2: *Das 6. und frühe 7. Jahrhundert*, *Damaszener Forschungen* 11 (Mainz 2002) pl. 79c, for horseshoe-shaped arcs; *ibid.*, pls. 16b, 43c, 45c–d, for the twisted fillets of Byzantine origin.

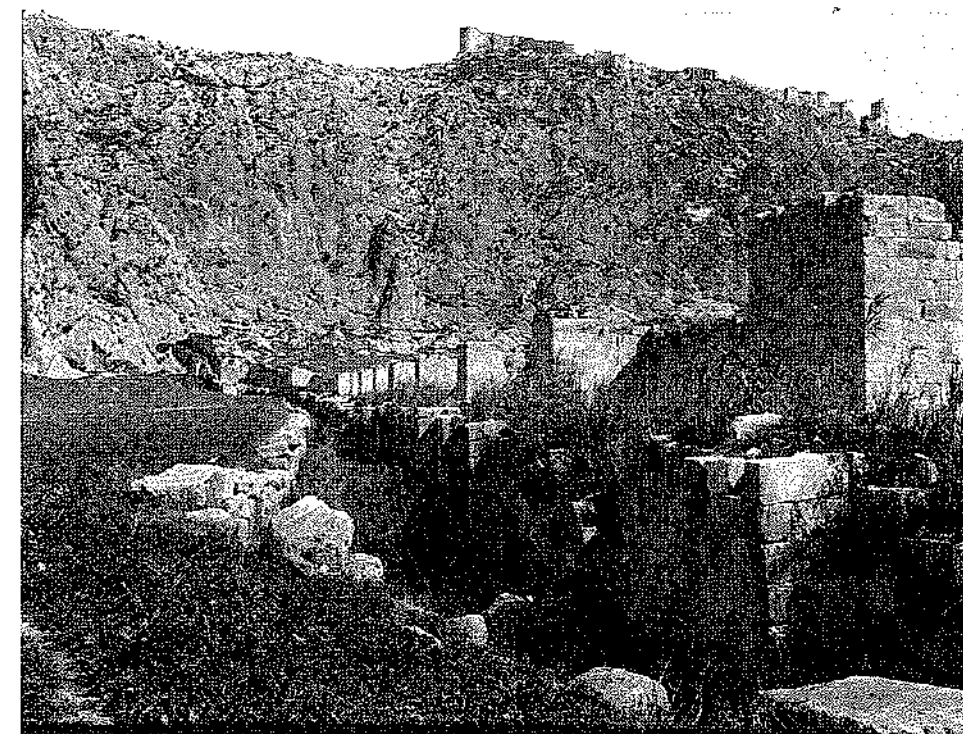


Fig. 15. Photograph of the northern section of the tripartite circuit wall taken by Gertrude Bell in 1905, from the west (G. Bell, with kind permission of the Gertrude Bell Archives/M.P.C. Jackson, Newcastle upon Tyne).

Since it is obvious that the dating of these walls yields significant information for the development—in this case the shrinking or, more positively judged, the concentration—of the city, some new arguments that seem to favor a Byzantine dating of at least the first phase (which means the lower levels of the main wall, the forewall, and the fortified ditch) should be considered. After all, it should be stated that these walls are unique in many aspects—regardless of whether they belong to the Byzantine, Arab, or Armenian era—and they would be even more outstanding today, if Turkish farmers had not reduced large parts of the upper levels (second phase) within the last 100 years (fig. 15).⁵⁴

First of all, the similarities of the layout to the Theodosian land walls of Constantinople are striking.⁵⁵ Both consist of three elements: a main wall, a forewall, and a fortified ditch in rather close proximity to each other, even though we do not know exactly what the first layout of the Theodosian walls with forewall and fortified ditch actually looked like.⁵⁶ Both display rectangular towers (this concerns only certain sections of the walls in Constantinople; there are 80 towers in Anazarbos and 96 towers in Constantinople) at remarkably short distances from each other and small rectangular retaining pillars in the walls of the ditch, referring rhythmically to each other. The main difference lies in the fact that in Anazarbos, the forewall also serves as one of the walls of the ditch; in this way

⁵⁴ Posamentir, "Innovation," 96–97, figs. 6–7. The photographs of 1905 were taken by Gertrude Bell; the author is extremely thankful to J. Crow and M.P.C. Jackson, Newcastle upon Tyne, for granting access to the Gertrude Bell archive and for permission to publish selected images in this contribution.

⁵⁵ Meyer-Plath and Schneider, *Landmauer* (supra n. 21), 21–22, pls. 1–3; W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen 1977) 290–91; Posamentir, "Innovation," 98–102, figs. 10–14a.

⁵⁶ Meyer-Plath and Schneider, *Landmauer* (supra n. 21), 16–26.



Fig. 16. View of the southernmost section of the fortified area on top of the mountain range with Byzantine (left) and Armenian (right) walls in the foreground and the Armenian Donjon in the background (R. Posamentir).



Fig. 17. View of one of the Armenian half round towers, built over a rectangular Byzantine tower that formed part of a gate, from the east (R. Posamentir).

the whole ensemble gives the impression that it was a compressed variation of its Constantinopolitan forerunner.

The logical continuation of the wall on top of the rock overlooking the city seems at first glance to be completely different (fig. 16; "H" on fig. 2). However, detailed mapping in the 2007 season showed that the typically Armenian semicircular towers are superimposed not only upon a typical Byzantine gate (fig. 17; "I" on fig. 2),⁵⁷ but also upon a number of rectangular towers spaced at the usual interval. Used in their lower parts as cisterns, they offer an explanation for the fact that the entrances to the Armenian towers are situated at a surprising height.

⁵⁷ Already mentioned by Gough, "Anazarbus," 119.

In addition, as already mentioned, of all the stone structures in the city proper, only the two churches have been spared, as well as the Christian arch. Also, the pottery found in the area outside the walls is not later in date than the sixth century, whereas continuous occupation inside the wall until the 12th century is clearly attested.⁵⁸ There are also no architectural elements later than the sixth century reused within the walls.⁵⁹

Procopius criticizes the emperor Justinian for tearing down theaters in order to erect other buildings,⁶⁰ and this occurred in Anazarbos and many other cities of Asia Minor.⁶¹ According to literary sources, the city was rebuilt after the earthquakes of the sixth century during Justinian's rule and renamed Justinianupolis.⁶²

A block with a projecting cross, which had been part of the wall in a now collapsed section, was found in 2007 (fig. 18).⁶³ The surfaces of the other faces of the block are smeared with mortar and prove that the cross had once been visible.

Cities such as Antioch (but probably many others in the region as well) seem to tell a very similar story, with a Theodosian (?) wall and a second and stronger wall with forewall and ditch (not in all areas), possibly erected during the reign of Justinian.⁶⁴ The latter also reduces the city's area, while, on the other hand, no comparable walls of Arab times are at hand within the whole area.⁶⁵ Walls of definite Byzantine origin such as the ones in Martyropolis, Melitene, Dara-Anastasiupolis, Amida, or Side are, moreover, at least similar in their general layout (partly their usage of spolia) and appearance.⁶⁶

⁵⁸ According to Prof. Dr. A. DiGiorgi, Case Western Reserve University of Cleveland, Ohio, who has agreed to publish the pottery of the Anazarbos survey. A certain amount of coarseware of a later date seems to indicate a rural utilization of the area.

⁵⁹ According to C. Nowak (Rome), who has agreed to publish the architectural elements of Anazarbos.

⁶⁰ Procopius, *Anecdota* 26, 5–9. For the integration of antique gateways into Justinian fortification systems cf. for example the case of Palmyra; O. Fuchstein, "Grundplan der Stadt Palmyra. Straßen und Plätze, Basilica und Wohnbauten," in T. Wiegand (ed.), *Palmyra. Ergebnisse der Expeditionen von 1902 und 1917* (Berlin 1932) 17–35, at 29–31, figs. 30–31.

⁶¹ Cf. for example the late antique walls of Blaundos in Phrygia; A. Filges, "Die Stadtmauer: Mauerring und Türme," in idem (ed.), *Blaundos. Berichte zur Erforschung einer Kleinstadt im lydisch-phrygischen Grenzgebiet, IstForsch* 48 (Tübingen 2006) 67–78, at 70; 78, fig. 55. This phenomenon is certainly to be found in late antiquity in other parts of the ancient world as well; cf. A. Oepen, "Die Nutzung kaiserzeitlicher Theaterbauten in Hispanien während der Spätantike und der Westgotenzeit," in G. Brands and H.-G. Severin (eds.), *Die spätantike Stadt und ihre Christianisierung* (Wiesbaden 2003) 199–217; P. Pinon, "Approche typologique des modes de réutilisation des amphithéâtres de la fin de l'Antiquité au XIX^e siècle," in C. Domergue, C. Landes, and J.-M. Pailler (eds.), *Spectacula I, Gladiateurs et amphithéâtres* (1990) 103–13.

⁶² Hild and Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, 179; Sayar, *Inchriften*, 12–13. For the role of Justinian in comparable processes, see e.g., Oepen, "Theaterbauten," (supra n. 61), 200.

⁶³ The block was found by architect C. Brasse on the occasion of a short survey in order to compare the walls of Anazarbos to those of Antioch. C. Brasse is in the process of writing a Ph.D. thesis on the walls of Antioch.

⁶⁴ The walls of Antioch are in the process of reinvestigation by architect C. Brasse to whom I owe much valuable information; see C. Brasse, "Von der Stadtmauer zur Stadtgeschichte. Das Befestigungssystem von Antiochia am Orontes," in J. Lorentzen, F. Pirson, P.I. Schneider, and U. Wulf-Rheidt (eds.), *Aktuelle Forschungen zur Konstruktion, Funktion und Semantik antiker Stadtbefestigungen, Byzas 10* (Istanbul 2010) 261–82. Cf. as well T.A. Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey: An Architectural and Archaeological Survey*, 4 vols. (London 1987–1990) 4.242–48. For Justinian's policy concerning the fortification of the east, see Cameron, *Mediterranean World* (supra n. 1), 104–13, 118–20, and Brenk, "Christianisierung" (supra n. 1), 85–95.

⁶⁵ This holds true for sites such as Tarsus and Misis as well, where huge Arab fortification systems have been postulated; see Hellenkemper, 72–73.

⁶⁶ Side: Foss, "Cities," 43–45, fig. 6; Melitene: Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* (supra n. 64), 3.3–4, 8–10; Diyarbakir: *ibid.*, 3.164–76; esp. 170; Martyropolis: *ibid.*, 3.287–89 (with displaced gates of the forewalls!); Dara: *ibid.*, 3.219–21.



Fig. 18. Inner face of the northwestern section of the circuit wall (main wall) with collapsed curtain wall and associated block featuring a projecting cross, from the south (R. Posamentir).

Finally it must be stressed that the framing fillets and profiles of the gates resemble those of the Church of the Apostles⁶⁷—and related to this observation it must be stated that the use of earlier blocks for decorative purposes, as in the Church of the Apostles, can be detected in various places along the walls and especially close to the gates (fig. 19). This also holds true for an inscription that can (most likely) be attributed to the tetra- or triconch building outside the walls.⁶⁸ In the inscription, immediately visible to people entering the city (although not vertically arranged), a round building is mentioned, in which Saint Menas was worshipped. According to the remote sensing, the church had a round encircling wall, which means that the actual building was apparently only a few meters away.

Arguments against a Byzantine dating are in fact few and concern almost exclusively the upper levels or a second phase of the walls. A small amount of pottery originating from the late eighth to 10th centuries from a single section of the north part of the wall was found during the 2007 season. However, this phenomenon could be explained as evidence for a partial repair of the walls. Also, some of the strange reliefs once present but now lost in one of the gateways (fig. 20) do not seem

⁶⁷ Posamentir, "Innovation," 102–3, fig. 14b–d; the churches of North Syria often show a similar feature; C. Strube, *Baudekoration im nordsyrischen Kalksteinmassiv I: Kapitell-, Tür- und Gesimsformen der Kirchen des 4. und*

5. Jahrhunderts n. Chr., Damaszener Forschungen 5 (Mainz 1993) pls. 38a–b, 45a, 116a–d; idem, *Baudekoration* (supra n. 53), pl. 78d.

⁶⁸ Sayar, *Inschriften*, 50 no. 58 pl. 24.

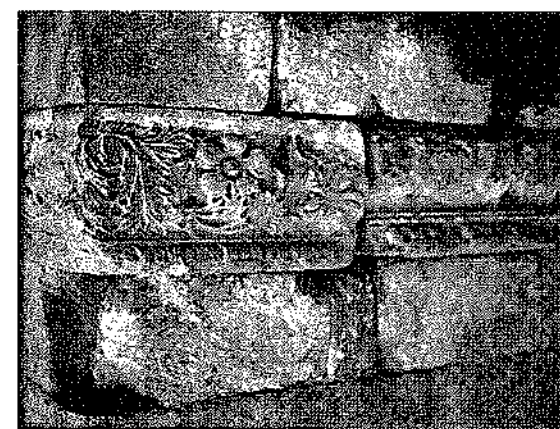


Fig. 19. Photograph of a tendriled frieze block reused in one of the towers of the northern gate of the tripartite circuit wall (main wall) taken by Gertrude Bell in 1905, from the west (G. Bell, with kind permission of the Gertrude Bell Archives/M.P.C. Jackson, Newcastle upon Tyne).

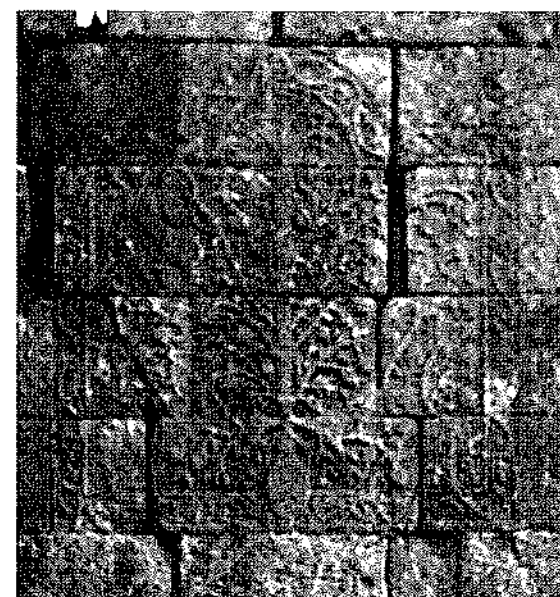


Fig. 20. Photograph of a panel of ornamental decoration carved on one of the towers of the southwestern (?) gate of the tripartite circuit wall (main wall) taken by Gertrude Bell in 1905, from the west (G. Bell, with kind permission of the Gertrude Bell Archives/M.P.C. Jackson, Newcastle upon Tyne).

to fit an early date, but they too could have been added later.⁶⁹ This does not hold true for several projecting *tabulae ansatae*, but these do not seem to be of Arab craftsmanship and are most likely spolia. Finally, the existence of oriels in at least one place is truly odd, but even such elements do have parallels in at least seventh-century monastery architecture in Syria.

Taking all of this information together, the preponderance of the evidence seems to favor a Byzantine or even a sixth-century date for at least the lower levels of the second circuit wall. If this interpretation is correct, then the organization and appearance of the Roman imperial city may have remained in many respects unchanged until the fifth century before the destructive earthquakes (or the constantly rising Arab threat), which should be held responsible for the reorganization and the dissolution of the once regular urban structure.⁷⁰

At this time, the streets would have been filled with building materials, ready and available for use in the construction of new and massive fortifications (in combination with a concentration of the city proper). Interestingly, there were no efforts made to return to a regular grid system. Therefore, a natural catastrophe might have been the accelerating and decisive turning point in a slow process of decline, which in any case was ongoing and inevitable. Before this turning point, people in the east were obviously still very close to and conscious of their past—probably even more so than in the west.

⁶⁹ The author is again extremely thankful to J. Crow and M.P.C. Jackson, Newcastle upon Tyne, for granting access to the Gertrude Bell archive and for permission to publish selected images in this contribution. The originally Byzantine city walls of Martyropolis show a similar phenomenon, but also underwent substantial renovation and repair work in later times; cf. Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey* (supra n. 64), 3, 289.

⁷⁰ Comparable processes of urban transformation in the sixth or seventh centuries can probably be seen in Anemuri in Asia Minor or in Apamea in Syria; see Foss, "Cities," 45.

However, Anazarbos obviously suffered the same fate as, for instance, Side, and there too no reliable sources are available to date major construction works such as the Byzantine city walls.⁷¹ Especially remarkable are the similarities between the towers of these walls and those of Anazarbos; wall-walks built against the inner face of the wall, inner chambers with arrow slits, and the innumerable quantity of spolia are immediately comparable. The second circuit wall of Side seems also to have been built after a serious disaster that made such a radical change possible or at least much easier.

Clive Foss dated the second circuit walls of Side to the mid-seventh century and also saw a connection between the process of demolishing and transforming the urban organization and the erection of the walls.⁷² However, his date is based solely on inference, and one might ask whether it is not more likely that the construction of the walls—and accordingly the reduction of the city—were steps taken in advance, before the Arab threat became more than just a threat. There is an undeniable similarity between the two processes in these two different cities, since in Anazarbos, too, late antiquity was obviously a prosperous time, followed by a “dark age catastrophe and very limited Byzantine recovery.”⁷³ At least all identifiable bodies of evidence, such as architecture, pottery, and sculpture, seem to point in this direction. Nevertheless, one should certainly be cautious when offering a generalizing statement: every city has its own history.

13 Some Aspects of the Development of Osrhoene in Late Antiquity

Peter Baumeister

The following contribution turns the spotlight on the eastern part of Asia Minor, especially the northern area of the ancient territory of Osrhoene, in the hope that a view to the east will be helpful in the context of a volume devoted largely to the archaeology and the cities of the west. Since Osrhoene has always been a borderland between the Hellenistic and Roman sphere of influence, on the one hand, and the Persian and Sassanian kingdoms as well as the Arab empires, on the other, its intercultural contacts with its eastern neighbors were much more intensive than in other parts of Asia Minor. The importance of Osrhoene as a borderland was not limited to the sphere of political interaction. In addition, Osrhoene was a contact zone where socioeconomic, religious, and philosophical developments emanating from both east and west were focused, and thus a place from which new trends emerged.

The importance of Osrhoene as a dynamic borderland has not been adequately recognized, however, for a number of reasons, among them the modern political situation, especially in the latter half of the 20th century. This paper attempts to begin to redress this deficit, by giving a short overview of a current research project in the northern part of the region.¹

The Ancient Landscape of Osrhoene—A Brief Introduction

The ancient landscape of Osrhoene is located between the Euphrates and the Habur rivers, today the borderland between modern Turkey and Syria.² The origin of the name of this region is uncertain; its etymological roots have been discussed by several scholars, but no consensus has been reached.³

¹ The following abbreviations will be used in this paper: Baumeister et al., “Keloşk Kale” = P. Baumeister, D. Roos, and T. Saner, “Die Keloşk Kale. Ein spätantiker Gebäudekomplex im türkischen Euphratbogen. Studien zu Osrhoene in der Spätantike I,” *IstMitt* 57 (2007) 623–74.

Segal, *Edessa* = J.B. Segal, *Edessa. The Blessed City* (Oxford 1970).

This project is a cooperative undertaking of the German Archaeological Institute Berlin, the Institute for Architectural History, Technical University of Karlsruhe, and the Istanbul Teknik Üniversitesi. The cooperating partners are Dr.-Ing. Dorothea Roos and Prof. Dr. Turgut Saner. The project is supported generously by the Fritz Thyssen Foundation.

² For Osrhoene in general, see A. von Gutschmid, *Untersuchungen über die Geschichte des Königreichs Osroëne, Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, VII^e Série 35.1 (1887); O. Krückmann, *RE* XVIII 1 (1942) 1589–90 s. v. Osroene; K. Kessler, *Der Neue Pauly* 9 (2000)

88 s. v. Osroene; see also J. Wagner, “Provincia Osrhoenae. New archaeological finds illustrating the military organization under the Severan Dynasty,” in S. Mitchell (ed.), *Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia*, BAR-IS 156 (Oxford 1983) 103–29, and cf. M.G. Angeli Bertinelli, “I Romani oltre l’Eufrate nel II secolo d. C. (le province di Assiria, di Mesopotamia e di Osroene),” *ANRW* II 9.1 (1976) 3–45, at 17–22, 39–41.

³ See in general Krückmann, “Osroene” (supra n. 2); Kessler, “Osroene” (supra n. 2); for “Orhay/Orhai” see also J. Marquart, cited in E. Hertzfeld, “Hatra,” *ZDMG* 68 (1914) 665–66; E. Kirsten, “Edessa, eine römische Grenzstadt des 4. bis 6. Jahrhunderts im Orient,” *JAC* 6 (1963) 144–72, at 149; Segal, *Edessa*, 2; H.J.W. Drijvers, “Hatra, Palmyra und Edessa. Die Städte der syrisch-mesopotamischen Wüste in politischer, kulturgeschichtlicher und religionsgeschichtlicher Bedeutung,” *ANRW* II 8 (1977) 799–906, at 866; A. Harrack, “The ancient name of Edessa,” *JNES* 51 (1992)

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 43–45, fig. 6.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 43.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 50.

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⁷¹ Ibid., 43–45, fig. 6.

⁷² Ibid., 43.

⁷³ Ibid., 50.

The major political and economic center of northern Osroene was Edessa, modern Şanlıurfa.⁴ According to the literary sources, the kingdom of Osroene was established in the year 131/130 B.C. after the defeat of Antiochos Sidetes by the Parthian Empire. When Antiochos was forced to pull his troops back behind the Euphrates, a local king named Aryu is said to have formed an independent principality near his capital Edessa.⁵ Thanks to numismatic evidence and comparatively rich historical sources, we have a complete list of the kings of Edessa.⁶ Among the early members of this dynasty were some who were involved in events of world-historical importance. One such was Abgar II, who was responsible for the disastrous defeat of the Roman general Crassus by the Parthians in which the Roman insignia were lost.⁷

A major development of the second century was the establishment of the *Provincia Mesopotamiae* by the emperor Trajan, but even then the kingdom of Osroene was still able to benefit from the ongoing conflicts between the great powers, and to maintain at least a degree of independence between the Roman and the Parthian spheres of influence. Caracalla and especially Gordian III brought this tradition to an end. In A.D. 242 the last king of Edessa was forced to withdraw from the throne.⁸

Turning now to the northern part of Osroene, the main focus of this article, the *Chronicles* of Edessa and several other literary sources give us a sense of the historical development of the region over the following centuries, at least in Edessa and its vicinity. More than anything else, repeated conflicts with Rome's eastern neighbors—first the wars against Persia, later the Arab conquest—determined the historical development of Osroene, although the regions in the vicinity of the Euphrates lay behind the frontier line, especially in the conflicts with Persia.⁹ Nevertheless, before Edessa was finally conquered by the Arabs in A.D. 638, the Persian kings threatened northern Osroene more than three times, especially in A.D. 363 after the defeat of Julian, but also in A.D. 544, and particularly in A.D. 609, when Chosrow II managed to conquer Edessa and to keep it for a few years.¹⁰

The history of northern Osroene was also influenced by internal religious conflicts. It is not possible to give a short summary of these events, but it is important to state that these conflicts sometimes nearly reached the status of a civil war, and that the different religious disputes frequently ended in persecutions and martyrdom.

Admittedly, most of our knowledge about early Edessa is derived from the so-called *Chronicles* of Edessa or from the work of Christian historians such as Eusebius.¹¹ These sources are dated

209–14; S.K. Ross, *Roman Edessa. Politics and Culture on the Eastern Fringes of the Roman Empire, 114–242 CE* (London and New York 2001) 5.

⁴ For Edessa in general, see Kirsten, "Edessa" (supra n. 3); A.E. Klijn, *Edessa, die Stadt des Apostels Thomas. Das älteste Christentum in Syrien* (Neunkirchen-Vluyn 1965); Segal, *Edessa*; Drijvers, "Hatra, Palmyra und Edessa" (supra n. 3), 863–85; Ross, *Roman Edessa* (supra n. 3); cf. also R. Duval, *Histoire d'Édesse, politique, religieuse et littéraire* (Paris 1892, reprint Amsterdam 1975).

⁵ For the early chronology, see in general Gutschmid, "Königreich Osroëne" (supra n. 2); A.R. Bellinger and C.B. Welles, "A third-century contract of sale from Edessa in Osroene," *YCS* 5 (1935) 93–154, at 142–54; Drijvers, "Hatra, Palmyra und Edessa" (supra n. 3), 867.

⁶ See Gutschmid, "Königreich Osroëne" (supra n. 2); for the later discussions, see the literature cited infra n. 8; cf. also E. Babelon, *Numismatique d'Édesse en Mésopotamie,*

Mélanges Numismatiques, 2-ème série (Paris 1893) 209–96; G.F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia* (London 1922) xciv–cvii, 91–118, pls. III–VIII.

⁷ Plutarch, *Crassus* 21–22; Cassius Dio 40.20–23; see also Drijvers, "Hatra, Palmyra und Edessa" (supra n. 3), 871.

⁸ See in general Segal, *Edessa*, 14–15; Drijvers, "Hatra, Palmyra und Edessa" (supra n. 3), 878–79; see also M. Gawlikowski, "The last kings of Edessa," in R. Lavenant (ed.), *VII. Symposium Syriacum, Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 256 (Rome 1998) 421–28; S.K. Ross, "The last king of Edessa: New evidence from the Middle Euphrates," *ZPE* 97 (2003) 187–206.

⁹ See below, nn. 51–52.

¹⁰ See in general Segal, *Edessa*, 74, 77, 112.

¹¹ *Chronicon Edessenum*, in I. Guidi (ed.), *Chronica Minora*, vol. 1, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 1, 2 (Paris 1903) 1–13; other important sources are: *Doctrina Addai*, in G. Phillips (ed.), *The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle*

to the fourth or sixth century, and are of uncertain reliability for events in the first, second, and third centuries. That the religious conversion of this part of northern Mesopotamia happened at an early date¹² is therefore an assumption—still to be proven by modern historical or archaeological research.

Edessa itself claimed to have played an important role in early Christianity. This self-professed reputation is based on legends of the third or fourth century: the correspondence between Abgar II and Jesus Christ, and the conversion of Abgar the Great to Christianity in the second or early third century.¹³

Looking at the archaeological remains and modern research, it must be admitted that the material evidence for the late antique and early Christian periods as currently known does not give the same impression as the literary sources. Especially in Edessa, the former capital of the kingdom of Osroene and in late antiquity still a major center in northern Mesopotamia, there are only few traces of early Christian architecture left. We do not have any substantial knowledge of the churches and buildings that we know of from the literary sources and that must have been famous throughout a major part of the Mediterranean in ancient times.¹⁴ From the *Chronicles* of Edessa (for instance) and other sources we learn that a church already existed, probably near the pools in the center of the city, in A.D. 201. And especially in the fourth and sixth centuries the bishops of Edessa erected a great number of churches, martyria, and other public buildings such as infirmaries.

When we shift our focus from the cities to the countryside, it becomes clear that our knowledge of rural Osroene in late antiquity is even more deficient. Apart from the reports of 19th- and early 20th-century scholars traveling through this region on their way to Mesopotamia, Osroene—especially the northern part—has not been the focus of major archaeological projects.¹⁵ A few single buildings have been the subjects of isolated studies, without regard for their larger contexts. But apart from the major traffic routes between Zeugma, Samosata, and other cities, Osroene and other areas have not been investigated consistently. During the preparations for the dam projects of the 1970s, large surveys along the Euphrates and its tributary streams took place, but mainly in the areas to be inundated after the construction of the dams.¹⁶ Despite intensive and careful surveys and investigations, the lack of time did not permit detailed documentation of the sites visited. Due to the mass of material, the publications which resulted give only overviews of the results of fieldwork and catalogue-like presentations of sites. Further detailed research and analysis of recorded data are still lacking.

New Research in the Area of Northern Osroene

A new research project can now give some new clues as to the history of the northern part of Osroene in late Roman and early Byzantine times. The initial goal of the project to be presented here was

(London 1876); Jacob of Edessa, *Chronicon Iacobi Edesseni*, in E.W. Brooks (ed.), *Chronica Minora*, vol. 3, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 5, 6 (Paris 1905–1907); J.-B. Chabot (ed.), *Chronique de Michel le syrien* (Paris 1899–1905); for the *Chronicle* of Joshua Stylites, see A. Luther, *Die syrische Chronik des Josua Stylites, Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte* 49 (Berlin and New York 1997); cf. also *Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, in J.-B. Chabot (ed.), *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 81, 82, 109 (Paris 1916–1920); see also Segal, *Edessa*, 20–21.

¹² W. Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents Relative to the Earliest Establishment of Christianity in Edessa and the Neighbouring Countries* (London 1864, reprint 1967); L.W.

Barnard, "The origins and emergence of the church in Edessa during the first two centuries A.D.," *VigChr* 22 (1968) 161–75.

¹³ See in general Klijn, *Edessa* (supra n. 4), 14–20; Segal, *Edessa*, 62–70.

¹⁴ For the archaeological remains in Edessa, see especially Kirsten, "Edessa" (supra n. 3); Segal, *Edessa*.

¹⁵ For the region north of Şanlıurfa, see E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien* (Leipzig 1883) 446–52; the route that Ainsworth took (cf. W.F. Ainsworth, *A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition I–II* [London 1888]), is recorded in the map of Kiepert (R. Kiepert, *Karte von Kleinasien* [Berlin 1902–1906] CV Malatya).

¹⁶ See infra n. 42.

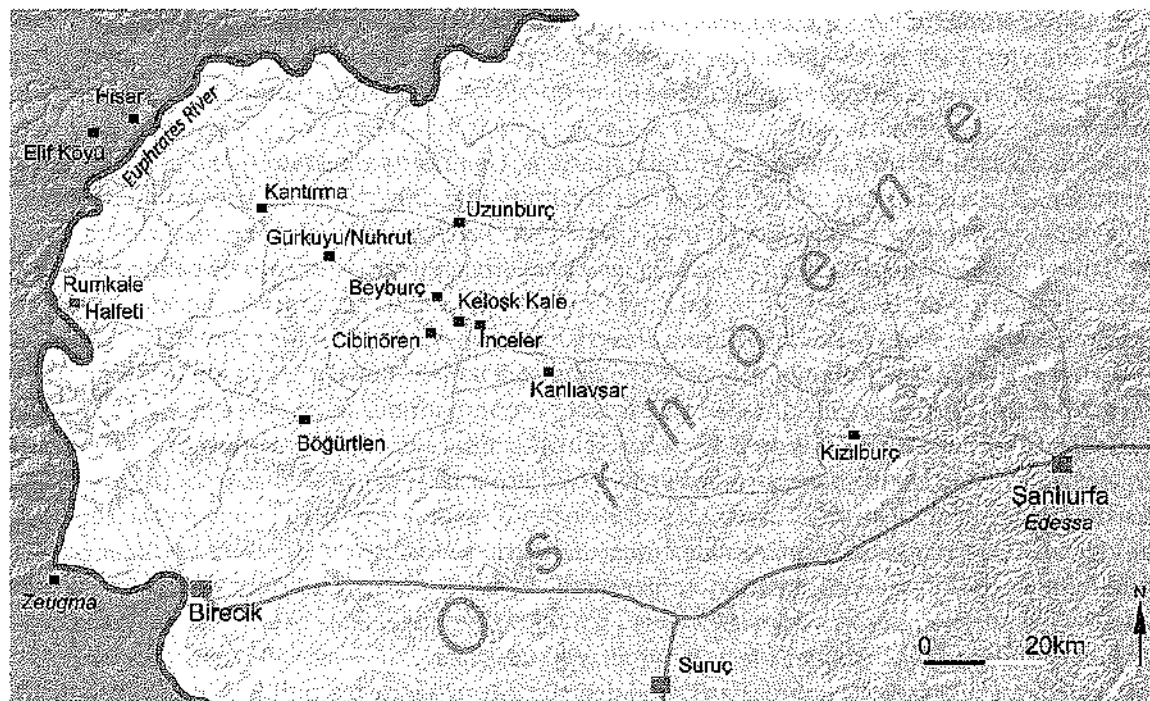


Fig. 1. Map of the northwestern part of Osrhoene.

the archaeological documentation of a single building complex in the area between Şanlıurfa and Birecik, the so-called Keloşk Kale (fig. 1).¹⁷ During the fieldwork for this project we noticed, however, that there were extensive archaeological remains of the late Roman and early Byzantine periods in particular throughout the whole area. The relevant literature showed that none of these remains had previously been noticed or published in any way. This then was the starting point for a more ambitious research program in the northern part of Osrhoene, especially in the area between Şanlıurfa and the Euphrates, north of the modern highway leading eastward from Birecik. The preliminary results of the survey can help to illuminate the development of late antique Osrhoene from a new angle; these results will be presented in the following pages.

The So-Called Keloşk Kale

As mentioned above, a building complex north of the Birecik-Şanlıurfa Highway gave the initial impetus for the new research project. Since the documentation of the so-called Keloşk Kale has recently been published in *Istanbul Mitteilungen*,¹⁸ only a brief summary of the results will be presented here.

Until recently, this complex was unknown to scholarship, in part because the area is accessible only by rough dirt roads. A team of architects from the İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi discovered the ruins during a survey of modern Turkish village architecture in this region in 2001. The ruins, situated on a small hilltop, are called "Keloşk Kale" by the local villagers. "Kale" is the Turkish word for "castle" or "fortress"; the word "keloşk" is the Kurdish equivalent. The building complex consists of three units surrounding a small courtyard (fig. 2). Buildings 1 and 2 are in a good condition, but

¹⁷ The final report of the first campaign was published recently; see Baumeister et al., "Keloşk Kale."

¹⁸ For the following summary of the results at Keloşk Kale no specific references will be given here; see instead the

detailed discussion in Baumeister et al., "Keloşk Kale"; see also the preliminary report in T. Saner, D. Roos, and P. Baumeister, "Keloşk Kale (Birecik) 2004," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 23.2 (2005) 217–41.

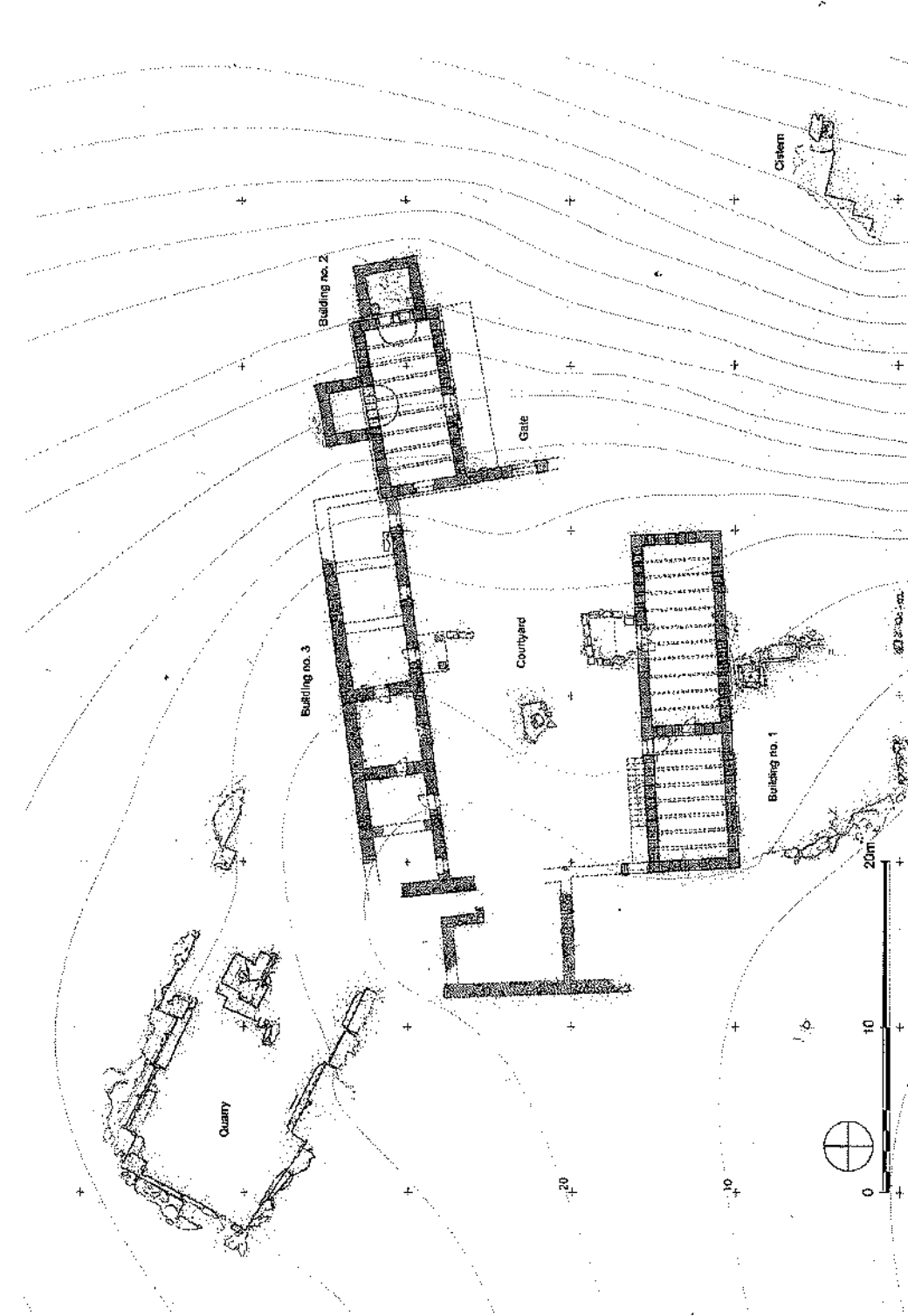


Fig. 2. Ground plan of the so-called Keloşk Kale (scale 1:400).



Fig. 3. Keloşk Kale, Building 1, view from the southwest.

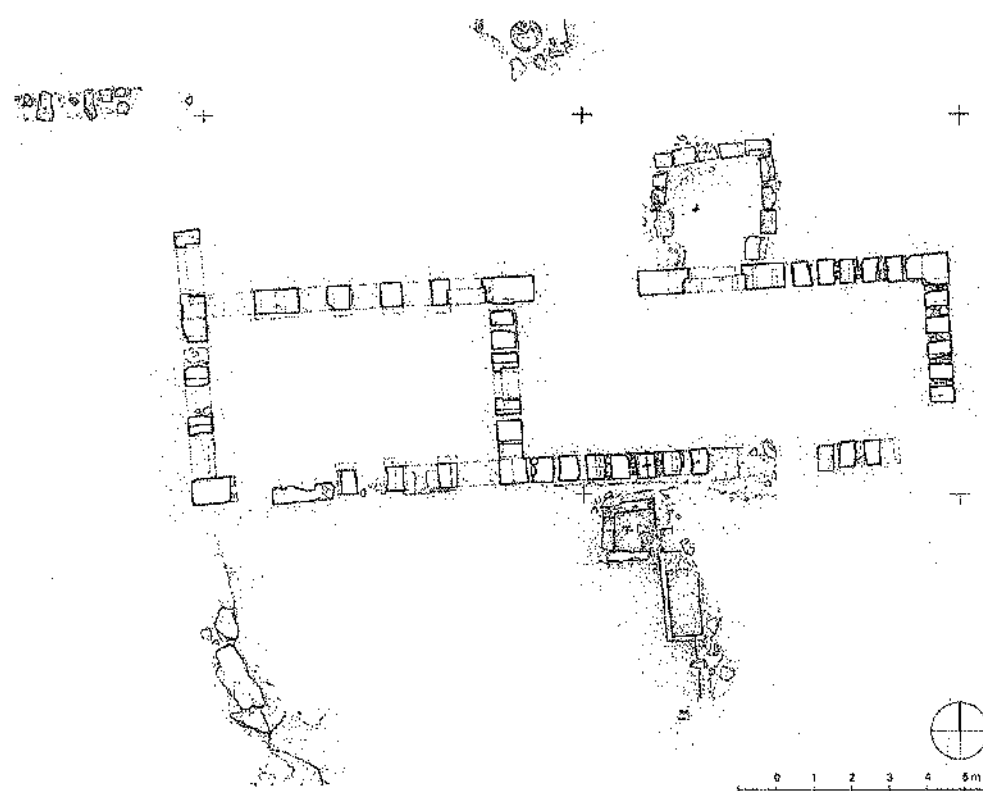


Fig. 4. Keloşk Kale, ground plan of Building 1 (scale 1:200).

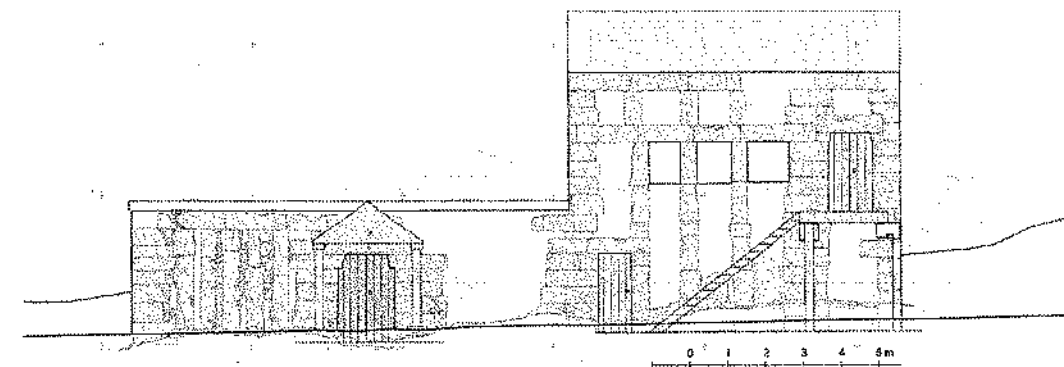


Fig. 5. Keloşk Kale, Building 1 (scale 1:200).

Building 3 has been completely destroyed. The complex was originally enclosed by a circuit wall, portions of which can be seen in the southwest part of the area. There are also two cisterns, a rock-cut tomb, and a gate, which marks the main entrance to the courtyard. In addition, traces are still visible of a road leading to the complex, carved into the surrounding limestone plateau.

Because of its construction technique, Building 1 is the most prominent part of this complex (figs. 3–5). It was built using a stone-beam construction, in which the framing skeleton consists of large stone beams. The panels between the framing elements were probably filled with masonry. The building consists of two parts: a single-story wing to the east, and a two-story wing to the west. As the ground plan shows, the building has three entrances. A double-leafed door provides access to the eastern part; a second entrance is located in the north wall of the west wing, and a small staircase leads to the upper floor.

The construction technique seems very unusual. The east wing consists of closely set vertical stone beams. It is possible but not certain that the small-scale masonry still surviving between the beams is a remnant of the original construction. The horizontal blocks on top of the vertical beams show cuttings for the roof structure.

The western part of the building consists of a framework construction. Almost a dozen windows in the walls of the upper story brought in light and fresh air. The uppermost small rectangular panels once were filled with masonry, but no traces remain.

It is not possible to reconstruct the roof of Building 1 with absolute certainty. One possibility is a reconstruction with a pitched roof over the western part of the building and a flat roof over the eastern one—the latter to provide a place for drying fruits and vegetables, as in modern houses.

Building 2 is not well preserved (figs. 6–8). It consists of a rectangular central room with an additional room to the north and another to the east, both separated from the main room by arches. The ground plan shows two entrances: one from the exterior of the complex, and another from the courtyard. The southern doorframe bears traces of a decorative molding that is important for dating the structure.

In the north and south walls there are traces of windows. In the roof zone of the eastern wall, a single block of the pediment remains. This suggests a pitched roof with at least one window in the center of the pediment. The reconstruction shows that the main room and the additional room to the east had different floor levels.

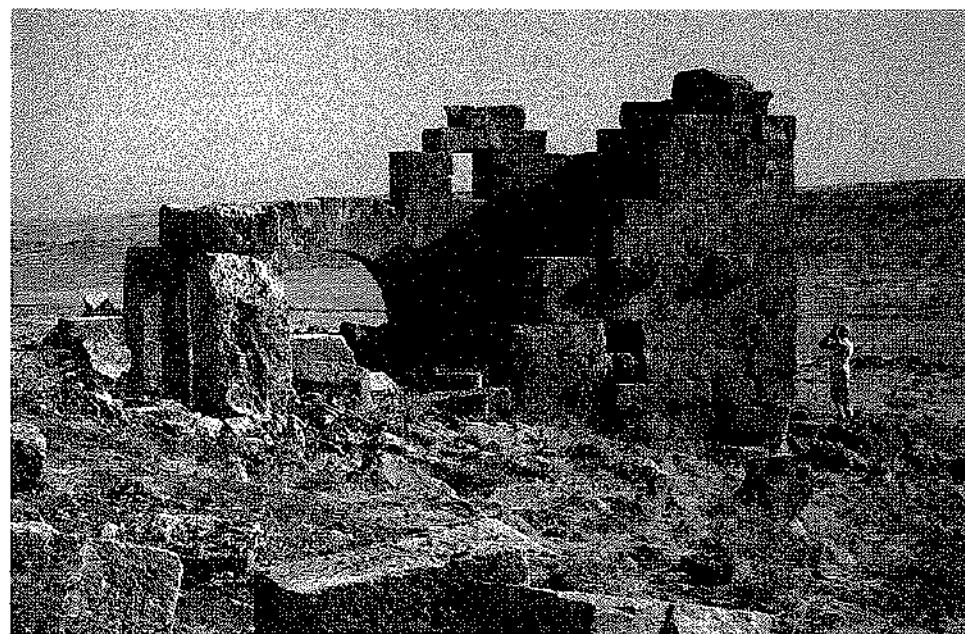


Fig. 6. Keloşk Kale, Building 2, view from the southwest.

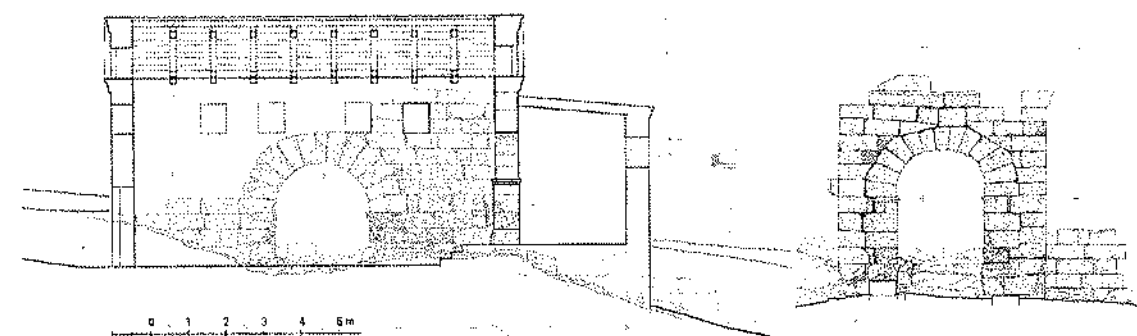


Fig. 8. Keloşk Kale, Building 2 (scale 1:200).

Building 3 requires only brief mention, because it is almost completely destroyed (see fig. 2). The building consisted of five rooms. One feature is remarkable: two fallen blocks of a pillar that carried the roof of a small porch still remain in situ in front of one of the entrances.

What were the date and function of this extraordinary building complex? There is no external evidence for dating, such as inscriptions (except two from a later period), coins, significant ceramic fragments,¹⁹ or ornamental decoration. Comparison with similar buildings in northern Syria, however, especially in the limestone massif and the so-called dead cities, may be helpful. Building 2 in particular has many parallels with Syrian churches with only one nave. Not only their typology, but also their construction techniques are comparable with those of the building at Keloşk Kale.

A sixth-century church in Sitt er-Rum has features very similar to Building 2 at Keloşk Kale (fig. 9). It is east-west oriented and has a similar narrow oblong plan. The small windows and the prominent profiles underneath the roof zone are comparable, as is the shape of the roof pediment. Another similar feature is the doorframe with its narrow moldings, although the corresponding moldings are unfortunately not well preserved at Keloşk Kale.

A remarkable detail is the dressing of the blocks of the arch, in which both some of the voussoirs and some of the surrounding blocks are cut in polygonal shapes so as to tie in with the horizontal masonry. Exactly the same construction technique seems to be used in both places, in Sitt er-Rum and at Keloşk Kale (fig. 10).²⁰

The list of similar buildings of the fifth and sixth centuries in northern Syria is very long and cannot be discussed in detail here.²¹ Suffice it to say that these examples strongly suggest that Building 2 at Keloşk Kale was also built in the fifth or sixth century. And it is also very probable that it was erected as a church with a small sanctuary to the east, although diagnostic features such as a bema—which an excavation in the main room might well bring to light—are still lacking.

Returning to Building 1, it is almost impossible to find exact parallels for the skeleton-like stone-beam construction.²² Again, the best comparisons can be found in late antique northern Syria.

¹⁹ Although many ceramic fragments are still to be found within the whole building complex, it was almost impossible to find diagnostic fragments of rims or sherds that bear any kind of decoration. An exception is a fragment with a spiral which is comparable to the decorations of amphorae from northern Syria, especially from the vicinity of Resafa (Baumeister et al., "Keloşk Kale," 667, fig. 50).

²⁰ See discussion below, 244.

²¹ For a more detailed discussion and further comparisons, see Baumeister et al., "Keloşk Kale," 662–68.

²² Although there are comparable technical solutions in the ancient world, the framework of Building 1 seems to be unique—at least we have not yet found any close parallels. The so-called *opus africanum*, which we know for example

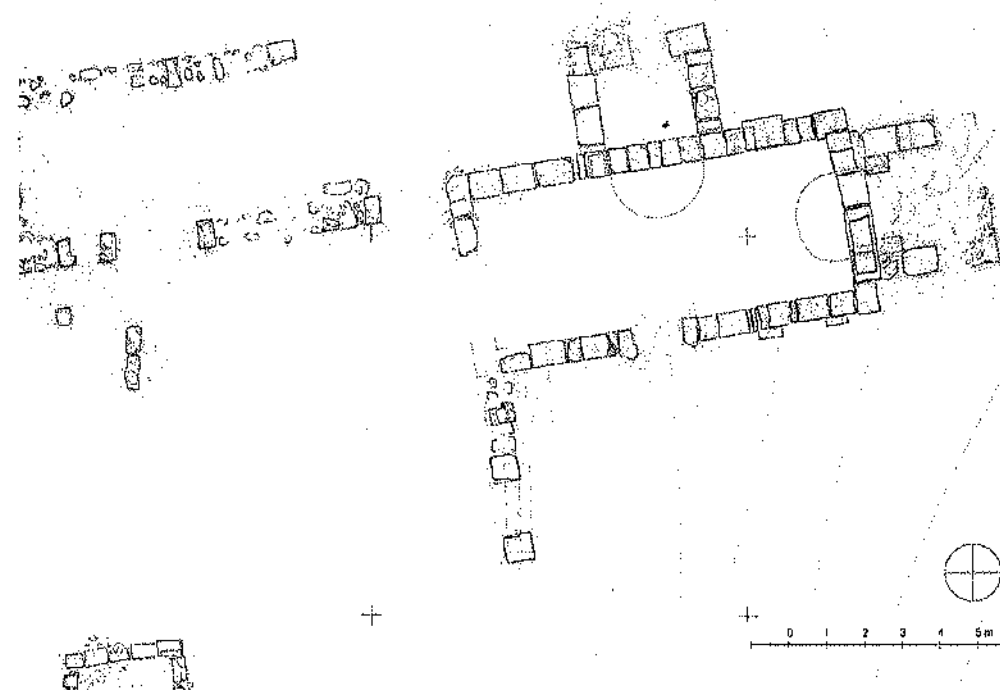


Fig. 7. Keloşk Kale, ground plan of Building 2 (scale 1:200).



Fig. 9. Church in Sitt er-Rum.

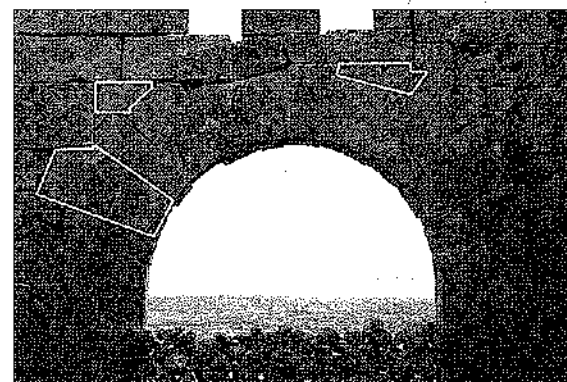
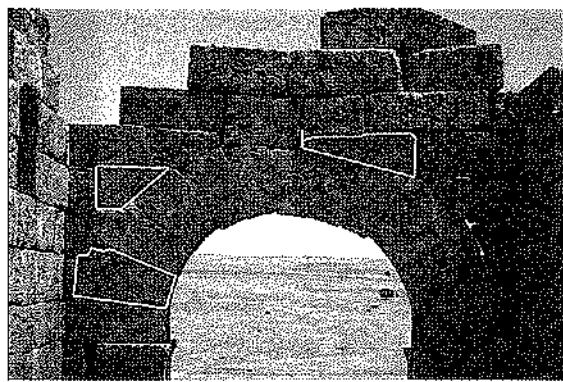


Fig. 10. Building 2 at Keloşk Kale (left) and the church in Sitt er-Rum (right): parallels in construction technique.

The façades of the convent-buildings or guesthouses of the monasteries of the limestone massif in particular exhibit similar methods of construction. Kasr el-Benat, built in the fifth century, is one example. Another striking feature is the corner treatment, where the skeleton-like framework joins masonry laid in horizontal courses.²³ The monastery at Deir Siman and several other examples show that there is much comparable construction in Syria.²⁴ There are, however, also significant differences. The stone-frame panels of the building in Kasr el-Benat and of other examples in northern Syria were

from northern Africa, Pompeii, and elsewhere, is different in its static structure, as the examples from Dougga or Selinus show. For a discussion, see Baumeister et al., "Keloşk Kale," 646–47 with nn. 36–38.

²³ H.C. Butler, *Syria. Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria from 1904–5*

and 1909. II, *Architecture. B, Northern Syria* (Leiden 1920) 214–22, fig. 220.

²⁴ C. Mango, *Byzantinische Architektur* (Stuttgart 1975) fig. 89; C. Strube, *Die "Toten Städte." Stadt und Land in Nordsyrien während der Spätantike* (Mainz 1996) fig. 41.

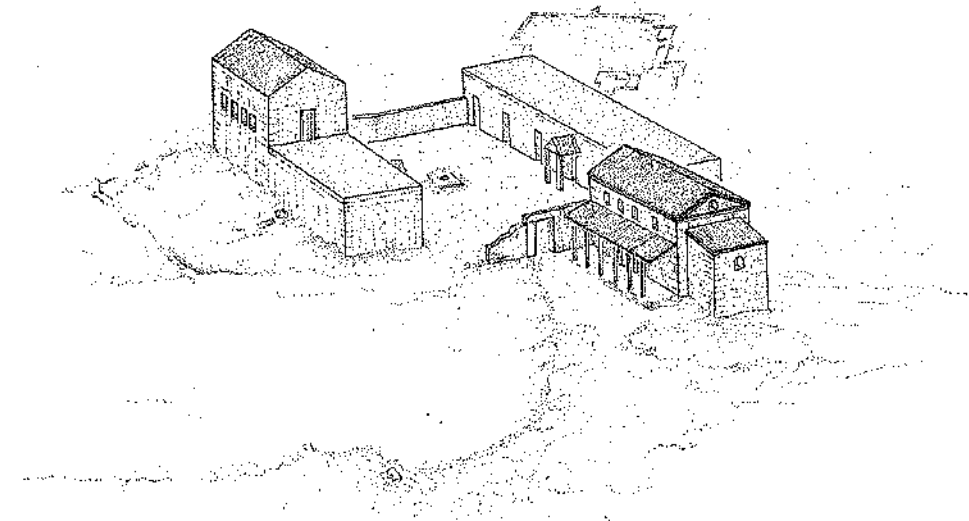


Fig. 11. Keloşk Kale, reconstruction of the building complex.

never filled with masonry, because these skeleton-frames were used in the construction of loggias and not for solid load-bearing walls as seen at Keloşk Kale. But in spite of these differences, it seems clear that the stone-beam construction can also be dated to the fifth or sixth century, although greater chronological precision is beyond reach.

We do not know why this type of construction was chosen at Keloşk Kale. Of course its static quality is outstanding: the best proof is the fact that the building is still standing up to the roof in a region prone to frequent earthquakes. But there may be other reasons why this unusual construction technique was used in this context. Perhaps, in fact, the similarities with the complexes in northern Syria were intentional. Perhaps the owner of the complex wanted to draw an explicit parallel with those northern Syrian buildings, which were very famous in late antiquity. Possibly this was the reason why Building 1 at Keloşk Kale shows this unusual construction technique.

Let us turn now to the function of the complex (fig. 11). Generally speaking, there are two possible interpretations. The first one is that the complex was the center of a farm, in other words, the homestead of a more or less wealthy landowner. We know such *villae rusticae* very well in late antique northern Syria. Even if Building 2 is a church, this explanation would not contradict this interpretation, since we know of a number of chapels built by wealthy private citizens within their homesteads. Another possibility is that Keloşk Kale was a *koinobion*, a kind of monastery or convent.²⁵ But without epigraphic evidence this interpretation is still hypothetical.

Some Notes on the Area of Keloşk Kale

After finishing our work at Keloşk Kale, we conducted a brief survey of the surrounding area. First, we visited the village of İnceler Köyü. This tiny hamlet consists of only a few houses on top of a hill, several hundred meters away from Keloşk Kale. The hill was also the site of an ancient settlement.

²⁵ See the discussion in Baumeister et al., "Keloşk Kale," 669–72.



Fig. 12. İnceler Köyü, courtyard with traces of a foundation (?).

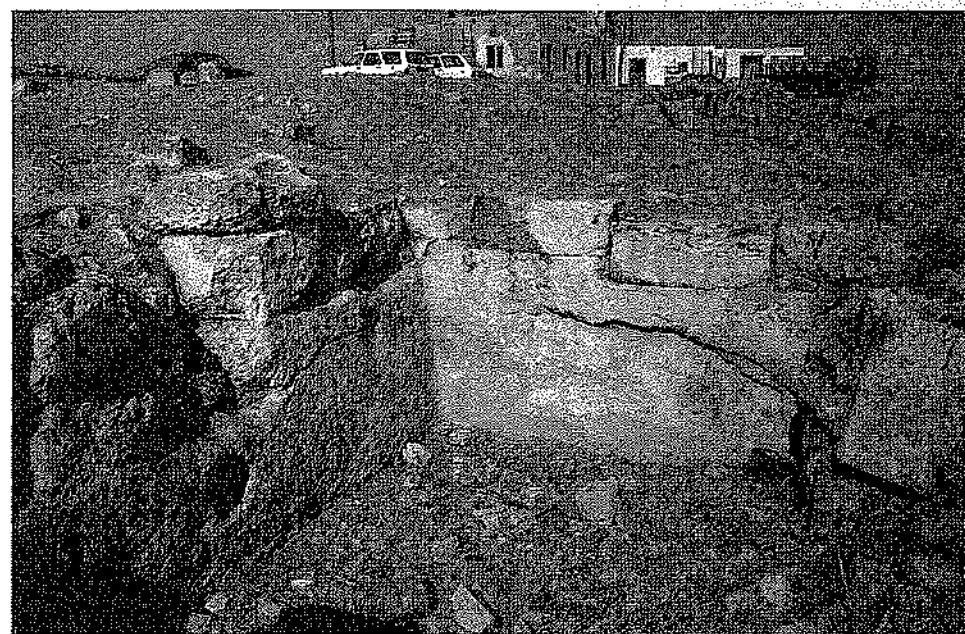


Fig. 13. İnceler Köyü, chamber-like structure cut in the bedrock.

Within the courtyard of the modern village, traces of large blocks are still visible (fig. 12). The sizes of the blocks and their alignment suggests that they are the remains of the foundations of a major building, just opposite Keloşk Kale.

On the western slope of the hill, a chamber-like structure is cut into the bedrock (fig. 13). A few surviving blocks show that masonry walls once completed this structure. According to the local

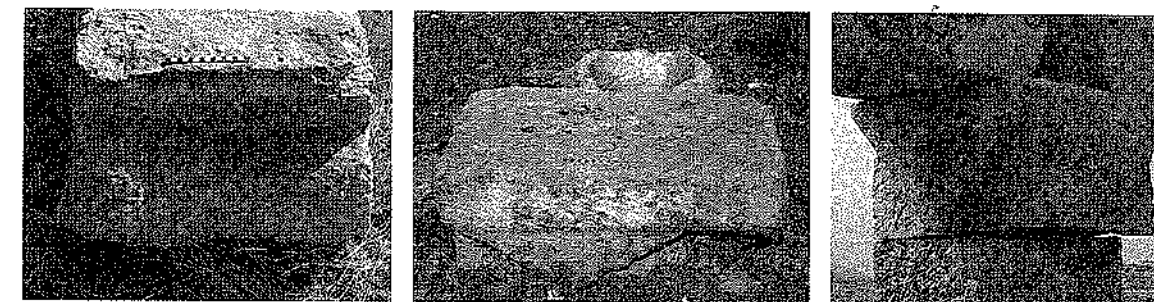


Fig. 14. Pillar capitals from İnceler Köyü (left and center); pillar capital from Sitt er-Rum (right).

villagers, traces of wall paintings, no longer visible, could be seen within the chamber until just a few years ago. Without any other information, the function of this structure is uncertain. Its position on the edge of the hilltop and its partially rock-cut construction technique may indicate that it was a tomb. There are remains of at least two other rock-cut tombs in the hamlet of İnceler Köyü,²⁶ which may add weight to this interpretation.

Although ancient building materials were clearly reused in the construction of the modern village houses, no diagnostic pieces—for example, blocks with architectural moldings—were identified. However, different architectural elements are scattered throughout the village courtyards, including the capital of a half-column decorated with a molded profile (fig. 14, left) and a block that probably served as a pillar capital, characterized by wedge-like projections at the top (fig. 14, center).

Without detailed examination of the site including excavation, it is not possible to determine its function or to date it precisely, but a few further observations may be made. At the moment, the two capitals provide the only evidence for dating. The preserved decoration of the half-column capital is not chronologically diagnostic. But the pillar capital with its wedge-like projections shows similarities to the late antique architecture of northern Syria. A striking parallel is a pillar capital of a building in Sitt er-Rum, the site mentioned above (fig. 14, right). Although the simple forms of these capitals are not closely datable, this similarity does at least constitute some evidence for a late antique date for our capital, possibly in the fifth or sixth century. Since there is no corresponding structure at Keloşk Kale to which the capital could have belonged, we may exclude the possibility of a post-antique dislocation of the piece. The building to which the capital belonged at İnceler Köyü presumably lies beneath one of the modern houses.

To sum up: in addition to Keloşk Kale, there was a small settlement at İnceler Köyü nearby. As at Keloşk Kale, a close relationship to the late antique settlements in northern Syria is suggested by the type of the pillar capital found at this settlement. Whether the traces of the large building within the modern village courtyard belong to this period is uncertain. In any case, its construction technique does not suggest a military function, which might have indicated a date in the second or third century, following the pattern of the facilities at Eski Hisar or Uzunburç.²⁷ Although it is tempting to date the settlement at İnceler Köyü to late antiquity, which would fit into a pattern to be discussed later, this identification must remain on present evidence conjectural.

A very similar situation has come to light in Cibirören, a village situated a few kilometers southwest of Keloşk Kale. As at İnceler Köyü, we have identified modern houses clearly built of reused ancient materials, and there are traces of walls and foundations made of similarly-sized stone

²⁶ There are apparently still more tombs in the vicinity of İnceler Köyü, according to the local villagers. ²⁷ See *infra* 242 f.

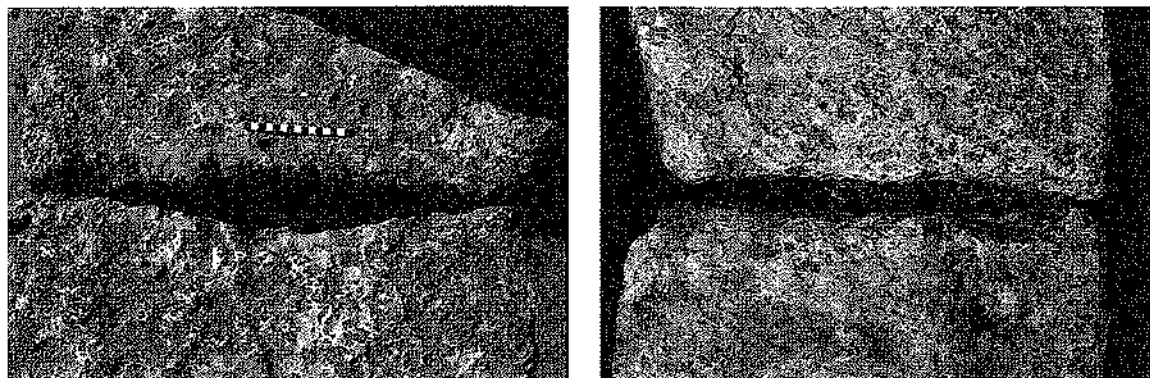


Fig. 15. Carved joining surfaces of the wall blocks: Building 2 at Keloşk Kale (left); church in Sitt er-Rum (right).

blocks. Of particular note are a great number of rock-cut tombs scattered through the modern village. Not only the number but also the large size of these tombs would seem to indicate a significant degree of prosperity.

Since no traces of architectural ornament, inscriptions, or any other chronologically diagnostic remains were found during our brief visit, any suggestions as to the date are entirely speculative. In light of the establishment of other ancient settlements in this area in late antiquity (as at Keloşk Kale) and of the general prosperity of the region in this period (as attested at Beyburç, discussed below), it would not be surprising if the ancient settlement at Cibirören also experienced a period of growth and prosperity in the fifth or sixth century.

A few kilometers northwest of Keloşk Kale, in a village called Beyburç, the evidence for an extensive late antique settlement is striking. The remains of two ancient buildings within the modern village are still especially prominent.²⁸ One of these is the almost entirely intact exterior north wall of a major building, preserved along its whole length. Even the profiled blocks of the sima are still in situ. The walls of the other three sides of the building are missing.

The profiled blocks of the sima on top of the wall help to date the building. Their elongated s-shaped curvature is very similar to that of blocks in the same architectural context at Building 2 at Keloşk Kale (see figs. 6–8) and at the comparable buildings in northern Syria discussed above in connection with the dating of Keloşk Kale.²⁹ Another detail reminiscent of Building 2 at Keloşk Kale is the treatment of the joining surfaces of the blocks, concave in plan and tightly fitted only at the front and back (fig. 15).³⁰ All these details suggest that the building in Beyburç was also built during the fifth or sixth century, although precise dating is not possible. The function of the building is not clear. A religious function is possible, but since the plan of the complete building is not known, any such proposal is speculative.

The function of the second prominent building in Beyburç, however, seems obvious.³¹ The remains of this structure are located in the eastern part of the modern village. The plan of the building is still legible on the ground. It consisted of two rooms: a main room in the west, separated by a still-standing archway decorated with a sequence of moldings from a second room in the east. The floor levels of the two rooms differ, and the steps leading up from the west room to the east room are still preserved. The east-west alignment of the building, the molded arch, and the small room in the east

²⁸ Thanks to an anonymous inhabitant, the ruins of Beyburç are now well documented in informative photographs on Google Earth.

²⁹ Baumeister et al., “Keloşk Kale,” 662–65.

³⁰ See *infra* 245.

³¹ See also the photographs on Google Earth (*supra* n. 28).

with its elevated ground level (which can be interpreted as the remains of an apse or *sanctuary*), indicate that the building functioned as a small chapel or church.

All these features are also reminiscent of Building 2 at Keloşk Kale (see figs. 6–8), and the molded arch could indicate that this chapel was also built in the fifth or sixth century. As will be seen below during the discussion of the church in Gürkuyu, an especially common architectural feature of this period is the sequence of the various moldings, which follow the shape of the arch and then continue horizontally on either side in the manner of the “Syrian lintel.”³² In sum, the preserved buildings thus suggest that there was a settlement of the fifth or sixth century at Beyburç, as at İnceler Köyü and Keloşk Kale.³³ Like the other settlements, the one at Beyburç seems to have been prosperous, to judge by the extent and quality of its remains.

Thus the late antique building complex at Keloşk Kale is by no means unique. It is evident that there were several settlements in the immediate vicinity, which also experienced a period of prosperity at the same time. This is clear in the cases of İnceler Köyü and Beyburç, and it is likely that the architectural remains in Cibirören, which are not precisely datable, also belong to this period, and that this settlement also reached an urban and cultural climax in the fifth and sixth centuries.

Widening the range of our analysis, we shall see that this pattern of remarkable expansion in fifth- and sixth-century settlements can be observed in a larger area around Keloşk Kale and throughout the region east of the Euphrates in general. One example is the village of Gürkuyu, formerly known as Nuhut or Monastirli Köy, a few kilometers west of Keloşk Kale. On the outskirts of the modern village, there is a remarkably well-preserved church.³⁴ In addition to a main nave of three bays, there is a side aisle in the south, separated from the nave by three arches. Only one of the two piers of the nave arcade preserves its capital. The arch that separates the main nave from the apse is decorated with a sequence of plain moldings.

Although R. Kiepert recorded Nuhut as “Monastirli Köy”—which means that he was aware of Christian ruins—the church was not known to scholarship until 2001. Although it has been published only in a brief article,³⁵ there is no doubt that the church can be dated to the fifth or sixth century. The church recalls the so-called “Weitarkaden-Basilika” type especially well known from northern Syria. Although the buildings differ in details, such as the construction of the piers, the shape of the windows, and the architectural decoration with various moldings on the eastern arch, it will suffice for present purposes to cite the parallel of the basilica at Qalblozeh, together with further examples such as the churches in Fideh³⁶ and in Brad.³⁷ Lack of time prevented us from examining the rest of the modern village intensively, but it seems very probable that further remains of a late antique village are to be found within the modern settlement.

³² For an early example, see the arch of the church of A.D. 492 in Kalota: G. Tchalenko, *Villages Antiques de la Syrie du Nord: le massif du Bélus à l'époque romaine*, vol. 2, *Bibliothèque archéologique et historique* 50 (Paris 1953) pls. 39, 113; cf. C. Strube, *Baudekoration im nordsyrischen Kalksteinmassiv I: Kapitell-, Tür-, und Gesimsformen der Kirchen des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts n. Chr., Damaszener Forschungen* 5 (Mainz 1993) 258–61; Strube, *Tote Städte* (*supra* n. 24), 210–13. See also the church in Fafertin: Tchalenko (*supra* this note), pls. 15, 42. Similar moldings also occur above doorways, e.g. in Qalat Siman or Qalblozeh, cf. Strube, *Baudekoration* (*supra* this note), pl. 111e; Tchalenko (*supra* this note), pl. 160.1.

³³ Although it is probable that this settlement was also inhabited in earlier periods, we did not find any traces dur-

ing our short visit. The watchtower, mentioned by J. Wagner (“Provincia Osrhoenae” [*supra* n. 2], 107, fig. 8.1 [map]; 109), seems to have been removed completely by the local villagers. On the other hand, Wagner does not mention the late antique structures that are described here.

³⁴ A. Zäh, “Eine spätantike Kirche in Nuhut (heute Gürkuyu) im nördlichen Mesopotamien,” *JÖB* 51 (2001) 365–71, figs. 1–17.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ H.C. Butler, *Early Churches in Syria. Fourth to Seventh Centuries* (Princeton 1929) 70–71, fig. 72.

³⁷ Butler, *Syria* (*supra* n. 23), 310; Butler, *Early Churches* (*supra* n. 36), 196, fig. 197b. For an example in southern Syria, cf. the church in Um Idj-Djimal: *ibid.*, 118, fig. 115.

Another example of an outstanding construction of this period is a building in Kantırma, about 5 km west of Nuhut. Near the main road at the foot of a hillock, three well-preserved arcades survive.³⁸ Their construction technique suggests that these rows of pier-based arches are most likely the remains of the substructure of a storage building. The arcades—which compensated for the slope of the hill—were useful for the ventilation of the building, so that organic materials such as corn could be stored in the upper story.

This structure has already been mentioned in some articles, but its date deserves further examination. A. Comfort thought of it as a Hellenistic or early Roman building,³⁹ while S. Gündüz speaks of a medieval han.⁴⁰ Although the structure still awaits proper documentation, some details suggest a different date; indeed, comparisons with the buildings at Keloşk Kale, Beyburç, and Gürkuyu indicate that this building also dates to the fifth or sixth century. The most striking criterion is the construction of the arches. The manner in which the voussoirs are cut and prepared in relation to the horizontal masonry is reminiscent of the arch of Building 2 at Keloşk Kale (see fig. 10). This treatment can be seen in Kantırma at the junction between two arches, which is covered with a horizontal slab. As at Keloşk Kale, the outer edges of the arch are cut horizontally and vertically to form a bedding for the upper courses. This feature can also be seen at Gürkuyu. The dressing of the blocks at the base of the arch is also comparable to that of Gürkuyu. The presence and shape of the abutment moldings also seem comparable to those of Gürkuyu and Building 2 at Keloşk Kale. As further discussed below, these features also occur in northern Syria, especially in the fifth and sixth centuries. In conclusion, one may suggest that the storage building also belongs to the fifth or sixth century. This would match very well with the pattern of the cultural development of this area.

Some Preliminary Conclusions

Before attempting to summarize the preliminary results of the new project presented above, it must first be acknowledged that our understanding of the material culture of northern Osroene is still not sufficient to justify wide-ranging reconstructions of the cultural development of the region. Nevertheless, it seems worthwhile to attempt to contextualize the results of our fieldwork, even if the following conclusions must be expressed very carefully.

Although the evidence remains scanty, at least the general outlines of the cultural history of the region are beginning to take shape. First of all, it is apparent that the area east of the Euphrates and north of the Birecik-Şanlıurfa Highway experienced considerable prosperity in the fifth and sixth centuries. Although we know from both literary sources and archaeological evidence that the emperors—especially Diocletian and Justinian—made serious efforts to improve the infrastructure of the eastern border region,⁴¹ it is still surprising to find such varied and elaborate remains of urban and religious life outside the main centers. As the churches in Gürkuyu and Beyburç show, this region was not an underdeveloped area in a critical and endangered region. The elaborate construction of both the churches and the storage building in Kantırma, as well as other structures, attest an impressive level of economic and cultural prosperity in the fifth and sixth centuries.

This means that the overall well-being we can observe in major cities such as Edessa was not concentrated exclusively in the well-fortified capitals, but also extended to the hinterland. Considering

³⁸ Zöh, "Eine spätantike Kirche" (supra n. 34), figs. 18–19; S. Gündüz, "Kalkan Village, Kantırma Field Han," in A. Durukan (ed.), *The Cultural Heritage in the Towns Birecik, Halfeti, Suruç, Bozova and Rumkale* (Ankara 2003) 265–67, pls. 368–73.

³⁹ A. Comfort, C. Abadie-Reynal, and R. Ergeç, "Crossing

the Euphrates in antiquity: Zeugma seen from space," *AnatSt* 50 (2000) 99–126A, at 115.

⁴⁰ Gündüz, "Kalkan Village" (supra n. 38), 265–67, pls. 368–73.

⁴¹ See infra nn. 51–53.

the ever-present threat of war in this region—and the geographical and agricultural realities that still exist today—such a florescence seems remarkable. Furthermore, the lack of major fortifications in this region shows that this area seems to have been reasonably safe—or at least that its inhabitants felt it to be safe. Another important point is that religious life seems to have been of great importance—even in small villages. Within a comparatively small radius there are a surprisingly large number of churches, including a possible monastery at Keloşk Kale.

For the development of the Euphrates region, the results of the surveys that were carried out during the preparation of the dam projects in eastern Anatolia are of great importance—although the catalogue-like publication of the sites does not allow for very detailed conclusions.⁴² Thanks to the research of G. Algaze, J. Wagner, and especially Comfort, we have a relatively precise idea of the distribution of settlements along the Euphrates valley and also of the road system along the Euphrates, and the connections between Samosata, Seleucia/Zeugma, and Edessa.⁴³

It seems clear that the Euphrates region north of Carchemish experienced significant economic prosperity in late Roman and Byzantine times, as suggested by the evidence for increasing population in this period. As Algaze points out, various farmsteads, hamlets, and "villas" were spread around the major centers such as Zeugma, and many new settlements were founded to replace older settlements nearby.⁴⁴ He also notes a "substantial peak" of inhabitation in the Birecik-Carchemish area.⁴⁵ Although these conclusions seem to corroborate our theory about a prosperous development and a certain cultural florescence in northern Osroene at that time, it must be remembered that the material on which they are based is very limited. Algaze's results refer to a period of almost 400 years, that is, from the third to the seventh century, and without more evidence, a more nuanced view will not be possible.⁴⁶

⁴² M. Özdoğan, *Lower Euphrates Basin 1977 Survey, Middle East Technical University, Lower Euphrates Project Publications I 2* (Istanbul 1977); Ü. Serdaroglu, *Surveys in the Lower Euphrates Basin* (Ankara 1977); G. Algaze, R. Breuninger, and C. Lightfoot, "The Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project: A preliminary report of the 1989–1990 seasons," *Anatolica* 17 (1991) 175–240, at 199–208; G. Algaze, R. Breuninger, and J. Knudstad, "The Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project: Final report of the Birecik and Carchemish Dam survey areas," *Anatolica* 20 (1993) 1–96; see also G. Algaze, "The cultural aspects of the Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi," *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 56/57 (1993) 3–15. For other surveys in this area, see also T.B. Mitford, "Survey of the Euphrates limes," *AnatSt* 17 (1967) 13–14; idem, "The Euphrates frontier in Cappadocia," in D. Haupt and H.G. Horn (eds.), *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms II, Beih. Bjb. 38* (Cologne 1977) 501–10; J.G. Crow and D.H. French, "New research on the Euphrates frontier in Turkey," in W.S. Hanson and L.J.F. Keppie (eds.), *Roman Frontier Studies 1979, BAR-IS 71* (Oxford 1980) 903–12; T.B. Mitford, "The Roman frontier on the Upper Euphrates," in R. Matthews (ed.), *Ancient Anatolia* (Oxford 1998) 255–72; Comfort et al., "Crossing the Euphrates" (supra n. 39); A. Comfort and R. Ergeç, "Following the Euphrates in antiquity: North-south routes around Zeugma," *AnatSt* 51 (2001) 19–49, and cf. also D.H. French, "New research on the Euphrates frontier: Supplementary notes 1 and 2," in Mitchell, *Armies*

and Frontiers (supra n. 2), 71–101; J. Crow, "A review of the physical remains of the frontier of Cappadocia," in P.W.M. Freeman and D. Kennedy (eds.), *Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East, BAR-IS 297, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monograph 8* (Oxford 1986) 77–91.

⁴³ Algaze et al., "Tigris-Euphrates preliminary report" (supra n. 42), 199–208; Algaze et al., "Tigris-Euphrates final report" (supra n. 42); J. Wagner, "Legio III Scythica in Zeugma am Euphrat," in Haupt and Horn, *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms II* (supra n. 42), 517–39; Wagner, "Provincia Osroenae" (supra n. 2); J. Wagner, *Die Römer an Euphrat und Tigris, Sondernummer Antike Welt* (Feldmeilen 1985) 52–56; Comfort et al., "Crossing the Euphrates" (supra n. 39); Comfort and Ergeç, "Following the Euphrates" (supra n. 42); also important is H. Hellenkemper, "Der Limes am nordsyrischen Euphrat. Bericht zu einer archäologischen Landesaufnahme," in Haupt and Horn, *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms II* (supra n. 42), 461–71, at 466–71.

⁴⁴ Algaze et al., "Tigris-Euphrates final report," (supra n. 42), 21–23, cf. the phase-map 81 (fig. 17b).

⁴⁵ Ibid., 22.

⁴⁶ The results are based primarily on the study of ceramic evidence. Detailed photographic documentation of architectural remains has not yet been completed. Crossing the Euphrates, the state of current research is comparable to the situation in the Euphrates region. For the results of a survey in the Gaziantep region, see A. Archi, P.E. Pecorella, and

That said, it should be noted that at least some monuments in other parts of northern Osrhoene and adjacent areas illustrate the same fifth- and sixth-century florescence that we have noticed in the area around Keloşk Kale. And this does seem to be a more general regional phenomenon. One example of a building complex built at the same time and with a comparable religious function is Deyr Yakup, located about 8 km south of Şanlıurfa.⁴⁷

Returning to the typological and architectural characteristics of the buildings at and around Keloşk Kale, one can only assume that at least some of the remains in northwestern Osrhoene listed in Algaze's catalogue and elsewhere exhibit similar features, but for certainty on this point, we must await further study and publication.⁴⁸

No other intensive investigations of this part of Osrhoene have been undertaken. Thanks to various surveys, however, we do at least have a more detailed picture of this region in high imperial and late Roman times, which can provide a background for understanding the developments of the following centuries. Until the second century, the culture of the area between the Euphrates and the modern Birecik-Şanlıurfa Highway was dominated by its function as a border region and by the presence of military units. An example of this military presence is the fort at Eski Hisar (fig. 16). This camp was erected in A.D. 197 by the *Legio Scythica IIII* on a hill near Gürkuyu, not far away from Keloşk Kale. Except for impressive quarries located a few hundred meters away in a nearby valley, no trace of the building itself remains.⁴⁹ Similar military facilities such as watchtowers were built throughout the whole area; examples include the watchtowers at Uzunburç, Kızılburç, and Beyburç (the latter village is located close to Keloşk Kale, as mentioned above).⁵⁰

The most important reason for the transformation of this region from a frontier zone with a heavy military presence to a landscape exhibiting a widespread florescence of civil and religious life and a highly developed civic infrastructure is of course the expansion of the Roman empire. After the wars of Septimius Severus against the Parthians, and especially after the fortification program of Diocletian, the Euphrates lost its significance as a major borderline, and cities such as Amida, Kiphas, and Dara served as the main line of defense in the frontier area near the Tigris river.⁵¹ In

M. Salvini, *Gaziantep e la sua regione. Uno studio storico e topografico degli insediamenti preclassici, Incunabula graeca* 48 (Rome 1971). Archi also gives a description of the sites in a catalogue-like form, and only a small part of the documentation seems to be published. It is immediately clear that more detailed classification of some of the remains would be helpful, as for example in the case of the "Ionic" capital (ibid., pl. 19 fig. 68) or of the "Islamic" building (ibid., pl. 10 figs. 29–30).

⁴⁷ F.W. Deichmann and U. Peschlow, *Zwei spätantike Ruinenstätte in Nordmesopotamien, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse* 1977/2 (Munich 1977) 41–63. Another could be the church at Ehneş, on the west bank of the Euphrates—in the case that the problem of its building chronology can be solved. Thanks to the generosity of Doç. Dr. Kutalmış Görkay and the Zeugma Archaeological Project this building was documented in 2009 by D. Roos and P. Baumeister. The questions concerning the chronology will be discussed in a forthcoming article. For the church, see V. Eid, *Im Land des Ararat. Völker und Kulturen im Osten Anatoliens* (Stuttgart

2006) 97; for Ehneş in general, see Hellenkemper, "Limes" (supra n. 43), 467 with n. 28 and cf. Comfort et al., "Crossing the Euphrates" (supra n. 39), 114.

⁴⁸ For example, the "ruined church" (Algaze, "Güneydoğu Anadolu" [supra n. 42], 28) or the churches in Savaşan (Comfort et al., "Crossing the Euphrates" [supra n. 39], 115) and in Saylakaya (Ainsworth, *Euphrates Expedition* [supra n. 15], 193).

⁴⁹ For the fort, see S. Guyer, "Eski Hisar, ein römisches Lagerkastell im Gebiet von Edessa," in *Mélanges syriens offerts à R. Dussaud* (Paris 1939) 183–90; Wagner, "Provincia Osrhoenae" (supra n. 2), 107–9.

⁵⁰ For the watchtowers in this area, see ibid., 107, fig. 8.1 (map); 109; see also supra n. 33 for Beyburç.

⁵¹ For the general development, see Wagner, *Die Römer* (supra n. 43), 64–69; J. Eadie, "The transformation of the eastern frontier, 260–305," in R.W. Mathisen and H.S. Sivan (eds.), *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity* (Aldershot 1995) 72–82. For the eastern frontier after A.D. 298, see E. Winter, "On the regulations of the eastern frontier of the Roman empire in 298," in D.H. French and C.S. Lightfoot (eds.), *The*

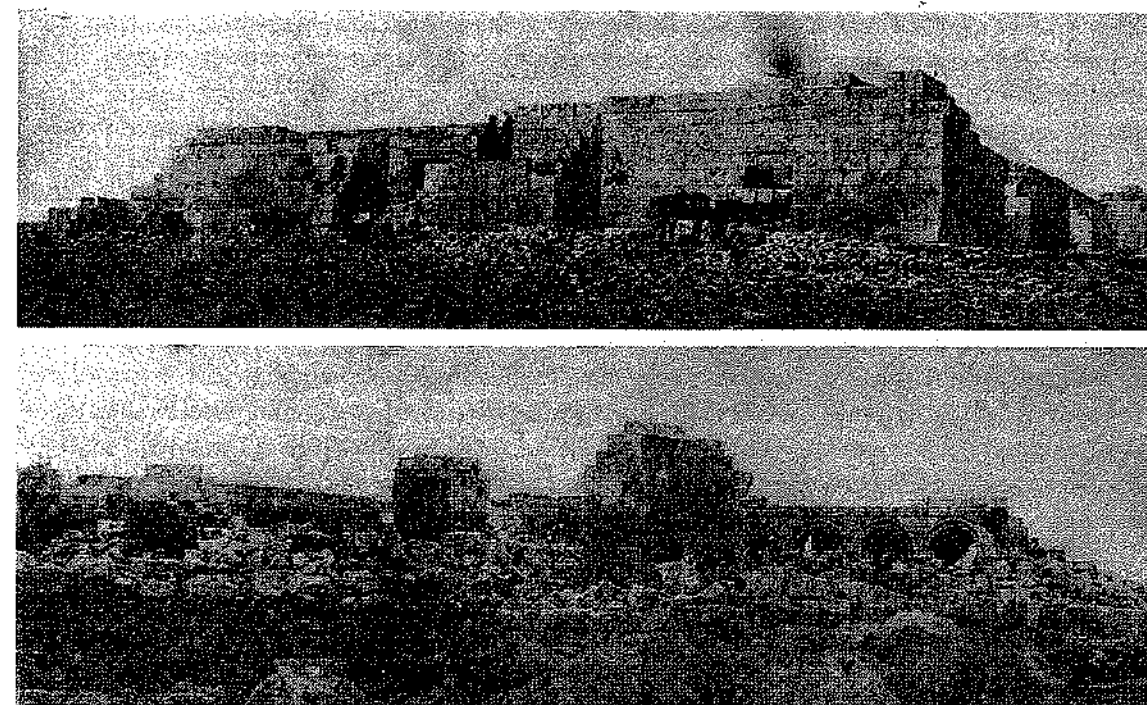


Fig. 16. Roman fort in Eski Hisar (S. Guyer, "Eski Hisar, ein römisches Lagerkastell im Gebiet von Edessa," in *Mélanges syriens offerts à R. Dussaud* [Paris 1939] figs. 2, 4).

spite of periods of disturbance, this Tigris region continued to function as a buffer zone until the Arab invasion in the seventh century.⁵² This becomes especially evident during the reign of Justinian, who enlarged the fortifications of Diocletian massively in addition to founding new military facilities. From Procopius's *Buildings of Justinian* we also know that the infrastructure of the region between the Euphrates and Tigris rivers was remarkably improved, especially by the construction of new roads and of cisterns along major traffic routes.⁵³ Although the prosperity and economic power

Eastern Frontier of the Roman Empire, BAR-IS 553 (Oxford 1989) 555–71.

⁵² For the character and the development of the eastern border, see N. Hodgson, "The east as part of the wider Roman imperial frontier policy," in French and Lightfoot, *The Eastern Frontier* (supra n. 51), 177–89; B. Isaac, "An open frontier," in P. Brun, S. van der Leeuw, and C.R. Whittaker (eds.), *Frontières d'empire. Nature et signification des frontières romaines* (Nemours 1993) 105–14; W. Liebeschuetz, "The defences of Syria in the sixth century," in Haupt and Horn, *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms II* (supra n. 42), 487–99; W.E. Kaegi, "Reconceptualizing Byzantium's eastern frontiers in the seventh century," in Mathisen and Sivan, *Shifting Frontiers* (supra n. 51), 83–92, cf. also V. Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate de Pompée à la conquête arabe* (Paris 1907); E. Dabrowa (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Army in the East, Proceedings of a Colloquium held at the Jagiellonian University, Kraków in September 1992* (Kraków 1994); M.H.

Dodgeon and S.N.C. Lieu, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars: A.D. 226–363* (London and New York 1991); see also the articles in French and Lightfoot, *The Eastern Frontier* (supra n. 51); in Mathisen and Sivan, *Shifting Frontiers* (supra n. 51); and in Mitchell, *Armies and Frontiers* (supra n. 2). For the upper Euphrates, see T.B. Mitford, "The Roman frontier" (supra n. 42).

⁵³ For a discussion of Procopius's description within the archaeological context in general, see L.M. Whitby, "Procopius and the development of Roman defences in Upper Mesopotamia," in Freeman and Kennedy, *Defence* (supra n. 42), 717–35 and cf. A.M. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (London 1985) 84–112; see also G. Downey, "Justinian as a builder," *ArtB* 22 (1950) 262–66; idem, "The Persian campaign in Syria in A.D. 540," *Speculum* 28.2 (1953) 340–48. For Dara, see L.M. Whitby, "Procopius' description of Dara," in Freeman and Kennedy, *Defence* (supra n. 42), 737–83.

of the major cities of the region, such as Edessa, were based on their locations along the main trading routes to the east, the improvement of the civil and military infrastructure of the area—and the emperor's direct support—was surely of more general benefit for regional development. At Edessa in particular, several literary sources attest the construction of many new churches as well as other official buildings of religious character—all of which reflect the city's economic power.⁵⁴

The settlements in northwestern Osrhoene presented above are important in this context; they suggest that regions in the hinterland far from the major traffic routes exhibit a comparable development. The fact that even rural areas seemed to be prospering in this period may be a sign that this economic growth was followed by some kind of administrative consolidation. This specific area was not disturbed by the warfare that afflicted the general region several times during the fifth and sixth centuries. The seventh century shows how fragile this situation was. After the breakdown of the eastern frontier following the Arab invasion, the entire area around the Euphrates experienced a massive decline of population.⁵⁵

Before drawing final conclusions I would like to focus attention on another point of interest which may be the most important of all. As discussed above, there are many links between the architecture of northwestern Osrhoene and the architecture of northern Syria. The skeleton-like framework of the Building 1 at Keloşk Kale (see figs. 3, 5), the typological features of Building 2 (see figs. 6–8), and several of its architectural details (e.g., the molded blocks in the roof zone and the decorated doorframes) show a very close relationship to the architecture of northern Syria. As we have seen, the pillar capital with wedge-like projections from İnceler Köyü may also serve as an indicator of this link, as a very similar piece from Sitt er-Rum suggests (see fig. 14, right), as well as the molded arch of the chapel in Beyburç and the molded blocks of the wall at the same village.⁵⁶ The most striking parallel is the church in Gürkuyu, which in form and decoration follows a common Syrian type.⁵⁷

But the similarities are not only typological. Corresponding similarities in technical details may indicate even closer connections, possibly at the workshop level. This is apparent in the comparison between details of the church at Keloşk Kale and the chapel in Sitt er-Rum. The manner in which the voussoirs of the arch are cut and prepared for integration into the surrounding masonry shows that the same tradition of workmanship is found in both places. In figure 10 these parallels are obvious: the voussoirs differ in size, especially in the lower zone. The upper surfaces are cut horizontally and vertically to form a bedding for the blocks of the horizontal courses of masonry. The wedge-shaped stones, which compensate for the curve of the arch and which also have beddings for the courses above, also show close similarities.

⁵⁴ The following list, which is of course not complete, gives only a rough impression of the building activity in Edessa in the fourth and fifth centuries. *Probably* A.D. 313: Bishop Qona started to build a new "cathedral," which was finished by his successor. A.D. 327–28: Bishop Aithallaha enlarged this church. *Probably* A.D. 345: Bishop Abraham built a church for the martyrs of Edessa (Shmona, Gurya, and Habbib). A.D. 369–70: Bishop Barsai built a "great baptisterium." A.D. 379: Bishop Walagash (Eulogios) built a church for Daniel. A.D. 394: Bishop Qona transferred the sarcophagus of St. Thomas to Edessa. A.D. 408: Bishop Diogenes started to build a church for the martyr Barlaha. *Probably* A.D. 435: Bishop Rabbula converted a synagogue in the center of the city to the church of St. Stephen. *After* A.D. 435: Bishop Hiba built a church of the twelve apostles. A.D. 437/8: A silver altar

was built in the "old church," i.e. the cathedral. A.D. 442: A silver chapel was built for the bones of St. Thomas. *After* A.D. 457: Bishop Nona built a church for John the Baptist. At the end of the fifth century the bones of the evangelist Addai were transferred to this church. *After* A.D. 457: Bishop Nona built a martyrium for Kosmas and Damian. This list is compiled mainly from Kirsten, "Edessa" (supra n. 3), 1963; Segal, *Edessa*; the dates are approximate and will have to be discussed elsewhere. For the sources, see supra n. 11.

⁵⁵ See Algaze et al., "Tigris-Euphrates final report," (supra n. 42), 23; cf. also T.J. Wilkinson, *Town and Country in Southeastern Anatolia I, Settlement and Land Use in the Lower Karababa Basin* (Chicago 1990) 126–27.

⁵⁶ See supra n. 28.

⁵⁷ Zäh, "Eine spätantike Kirche" (supra n. 34), figs. 1–17.

Another comparable feature is the type of joints used in the masonry of the walls. As already discussed in connection with Beyburç and Keloşk Kale, the joints are concave as seen in plan, tight at front and back for a clean and neat appearance, and hollowed out to a depth of a few centimeters in the middle, so as to avoid the expense of carving flush joints in places where they are not visible. The similarities between the joints of Keloşk Kale and those of Sitt er-Rum are particularly clear (see fig. 15).

These resemblances lead to the conclusion that the workmen followed exactly the same method of construction. In other words, workmen with the same technical training were employed both in northern Syria and the area which is in the focus of our current research. Although only elaborate ornamental decoration would provide conclusive proof, it is possible that workshops from Syria were also operating in northern Osrhoene and vice versa—an important connection that only the new evidence presented here has brought to light.

As mentioned above, these special technical features can also be observed in other buildings of northern Osrhoene. The arches of the storehouse-like building in Kantırma show the same method of construction as the arches at Keloşk Kale and Sitt er-Rum.⁵⁸ And as we have seen, the same type of concave joint is also found in the blocks of the huge wall at Beyburç.

The close relation in typology and construction technique of the northwestern part of Osrhoene with the limestone massif in northern Syria sheds a new and important light on the development of this region in late antiquity.⁵⁹ Although this is a subject that needs further intensive investigation, our observations suggest that this relationship represents more than purely temporary or localized influence. Bearing in mind not only historical developments but also geographical and geological realities, it is likely that the entire region was once a cohesive cultural area with a very homogenous development and typical cultural features.

The archaeological work at Keloşk Kale and the preliminary reconnaissance of the surrounding area make it clear that this region has a rich and remarkable historical heritage, which has not yet received adequate scientific attention. A major research project in this part of northern Osrhoene would be very fruitful for the discipline. The work presented here should be understood as a first attempt to shed new light on the development of this fascinating landscape, especially in late Roman and early Byzantine times.

⁵⁸ Gündüz, "Kalkan Village" (supra n. 38), 266, pls. 370–71.

⁵⁹ Similar relations for typology and workmanship have already been suggested, but only for a much earlier time, especially the second century A.D., cf. S. Guyer, "Zwei spätantike Grabmonumente Nordmesopotamiens und der

älteste Märtyrergrab-Typus der christlichen Kunst," in E.F. Weidner (ed.), *Aus fünf Jahrtausenden morgenländischer Kultur. Festschrift Max Freiherr von Oppenheim* (Berlin 1933) 148–56, at 148, 150; Guyer, "Lagerkastell" (supra n. 49), 184, 188.

14 Cities in the Eastern Roman Empire from Constantine to Heraclius

David Potter

The story of the classical city in the eastern portions of the Roman empire in the 350 years after Constantine's death centers on the replacement of traditional and parochial forms of organization with more universal and centralized institutions. The result was a long-term decline in the importance of classical urbanism that may be seen as a transition from the centrality the polis as a socio-economic and political entity, limited to a very few sites by the end of the seventh century, to the *kastron*, a much less ambitious entity whose very name emphasized an essentially military function.¹ One factor in this transformation was the great world crisis of the seventh century resulting in the rise of the Islamic empires, but this is not a sufficient explanation, and the rise of Islam may itself be seen as a partial result of changes that were already underway. The question of just how significant these changes were is the focus of what remains a significant debate. One pole was planted in 1975 when Clive Foss published the first in a pair of stirring articles, arguing that it was the Persian invasion that dealt the final blow to the classical city in Asia Minor.² A decade later, Hugh Kennedy showed that, south of the Taurus, urban landscapes were changing well in advance of the Persian invasion or Arab conquest in that public spaces were being put to new, more private uses.³ From both studies the crucial point that emerged was that in the period leading up to the collapse of Roman authority south of the Taurus, urban history had diverged significantly between the regions where Semitic languages and Coptic predominated amongst the population, and the regions where Greek was the predominant language.⁴ More recently, work done on the Balkans has offered fresh insight into the economic collapse of another neighboring region of the Roman empire, suggesting that we need to read the Anatolian evidence not just in light of that from the south but also in light of that from the west.⁵

I am grateful to Professor Ratté for the invitation to contribute this essay; the framework for the discussion of the issues treated at the end of this paper owes much to a conversation in February of 2011 with Professor Stephen Mitchell. I am also extremely grateful to Professor Nate Andrade for his perceptive reading and detailed commentary on an earlier draft of this paper.

¹ W. Brandes, *Die Städte Kleinasiens im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert* (Amsterdam 1989) 28–43.

² C. Foss, "The Persians in Asia Minor and the end of antiquity," *EHR* 90 (1975) 721–47; idem, "Archaeology and the 'Twenty Cities' of Byzantine Asia," *AJA* 81 (1977) 469–86, but see also the nuanced treatment in his "The Persians in the Roman Near East (602–630 AD)," *JRAS* Ser. 3 13 (2003) 149–70, showing continuities of administration in the occupied zones of Syria and Egypt.

³ H. Kennedy, "From polis to madina: Urban change in late antiquity," *Past and Present* 106 (1985) 3–27. The process

that he observed is not limited to the Near East, and is a feature of changing government styles more generally; see now the important discussion of the agora at Nicopolis in P. Vladkova, "The late Roman agora and the state of civic organization," in A.G. Poulter (ed.), *The Transition to Late Antiquity on the Danube and Beyond*, *ProcBritAc* 141 (Oxford 2007) 203–17. On the other hand it was not always the case that new construction was haphazard; see A. Walmsley, *Early Islamic Syria: An Archaeological Assessment* (London 2007) 38–39.

⁴ See also J. Haldon, "Social transformation in the 6th–9th c. East," in W. Bowden, A. Gutteridge, and C. Machado (eds.), *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity, Late Antique Archaeology* 3.1 (Leiden 2006) 603–47, on the difficulties inherent in universalizing theories of change in relation to the evidence for this period.

⁵ See now the essays collected in Poulter, *Transition to Late Antiquity* (supra n. 3).

Looking specifically at the textual evidence for urban life, major changes in the course of the fourth to sixth centuries began with the replacement of the local councils, which had administered cities by distributing necessary tasks to be performed as "gifts" by their members to the people, by groups of "leaders" who often held imperial rather than local positions. Other changes included the development of regional institutions, linked with the circus factions that dominated the capital, replacing traditional infrastructures for the production of public spectacles, while Christianity replaced local cult, in ways that integrated city politics into the politics of imperial religion.⁶ A further point is that the model so far described held good only for the lands of Asia Minor. In the Balkans, urban structures collapsed in the face of Hunnic invasion and Slavic migration from the middle of the fifth to the middle of the sixth century, leaving the imperial administration to govern a few enclaves in this crucial region, while the regions south of the Taurus, extending as far as Egypt, are marked by the rise of economically powerful villages. In some places village societies may have challenged the economic dominance of cities and, in their appeal to extra-urban authority figures—monks of either the Hermetic or coenobitic sort—their political dominance. In other places, these villages may have formed part or all of the property of powerful imperial administrative functionaries whose main residence was elsewhere.⁷ A important contribution, common to both Foss and Kennedy, was to focus attention on the question of how well the trends evident in the texts could be reconciled with archaeological data, and how that data could be allowed to paint the backdrop for the stage upon which the dramatic events of the late sixth and early seventh centuries played out.

The essays in the current volume contribute to the overall study of late imperial urbanism on a range of significant topics. One is the issue of visual styling—how did people envision an urban landscape? Another is that of impact—how did the building choices made at an imperial capital affect choices made at local levels? A third is whether there was a consistent pattern of urban devolution in Asia Minor, and what "urban devolution" might actually look like. The final question is how Asia Minor compares with the lands beyond the Taurus.

Late Antique Cityscapes

Any study of style needs to begin at the empire's heart. Sarah Bassett's discussion of statuary at Constantinople draws attention to the issue of public art in a late imperial setting, and the importance in late antique city planning of what Helen Saradi has shown to be the interest in civic *kosmos* and *kallos*.⁸ There were a lot of statues in Constantinople: examples mentioned in the sources number somewhere in the area of 250 pieces by the middle of the fifth century, roughly two-thirds of which were ancient imports, while a third were created after the decision to relocate the center of power to the city. The primary areas for display were the hippodrome, the Baths of Zeuxippos, and the Forum of Constantine. In each area the display combined pieces of great antiquity such as the Serpent Column, erected at Delphi to commemorate the Battle of Platea in 479 B.C., which was on display in the

⁶ The basic treatment of civic government from which this derives is J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (Oxford 2001) 104–68, 203–20; for the role of the Church see also F. Millar, *A Greek Roman Empire: Power and Belief under Theodosius II (408–450)*, *Sather Classical Lectures* 64 (Berkeley 2006) 130–40 and C. Rapp, "Bishops in late antiquity: A new social and urban elite?" in J. Haldon and L.I. Conrad (eds.), *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East VI. Elites Old and New, Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam* 1 (Princeton 2004) 149–78.

⁷ On this point see esp. H. Kennedy, "Syrian elites from Byzantium to Islam: Survival or extinction?" in J. Haldon (ed.), *Money, Power and Politics in Early Islamic Syria: A Review of Current Debates* (Farnham 2010) 181–200, at 181–89.

⁸ H. Saradi, "The *kallos* of the Byzantine city: The development of a rhetorical *topos* and historical reality," *Gesta* 34 (1995) 37–56, esp. 40–45; see also the valuable summary in K.G. Holum, "The Classical city in the sixth century: Survival and transformation," in M. Maas (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge 2005) 87–112, esp. 89–90.

hippodrome by the fifth century together with an Egyptian obelisk and the Column of Theodosius. The Column of Theodosius was typical of modern work in that it was directly related with the emperors who had lived in the city, meaning that by the end of the first quarter of the fifth century, visitors might see the massive new Column of Arcadius, commemorating the defeat of Gainas; 20 statues of Constantine and his family members, a few representing members of the dynasty of Valentinian; and numerous statues of the Theodosian house along with a few important officials, such as the city prefects Proclus and Aurelianus. While on the one hand the result was simply to make the city more decorous, it also served to illuminate the different agendas of the Constantinian and Theodosian houses. The massive importation of old statues under Constantine served to establish the city's claim to be a worthy imperial capital, while the newer works favored by the house of Theodosius tended to stress the family's place in imperial history. While the array of statuary conforms, as Bassett shows, to rhetorical theory about the way that style might create pleasure, it also offers a visual complement to the point made in the second quarter of the fifth century by the compilers of the Theodosian Code that the regime of the Theodosian house built upon that of Constantine.

Although Byzantium was an older city than Ephesus, Ephesus had a much longer history as an important place and is one of four major centers (all provincial capitals) for which recent evidence is reviewed in this volume. The city itself was famously embellished in the fourth and early fifth centuries, in the wake of a series of earthquakes in the second half of the fourth century. The city's recovery began with the improvement of the water system, both through the reconstruction of the infrastructure for bringing water into the city and through rebuilding of the fountains that were crucial to the distribution network.⁹ There followed work on prestige projects such as the lavish avenue leading to the harbor from the theater—the Arcadiane—which would be enhanced in Justinian's reign with a four-columned monument advertising the city's attachment to the imperial house, the public baths that were built at the behest of Constantius II, and numerous churches (often constructed on sites of earlier public buildings that had been damaged in earthquakes). The most famous of these, the Church of St. Mary, which would host the great Church Councils of A.D. 431 and 449, was also located near the harbor.¹⁰ It may have stood next to a new palace built for the governor of Asia.¹¹ This redevelopment of urban elegance was not, however, universal, for the immensely impressive "Terrace Houses," which were ruined in an earthquake around A.D. 300, were not rebuilt; the poorer structures replacing them turned what was once a high rent district into a slum, but that may be seen as the kind of thing that routinely happens in old cities, and the fact that members of the local gentry were living somewhere else does not mean that they were not living in Ephesus.¹²

The "new Ephesus" coexisted with memorials of the city's past just as the "new Constantinople" built upon Byzantium, though in this case it may have had greater indigenous artistic resources, as Maria Aurenhammer shows in her discussion of the use of public art to create an appropriate civic image. Perhaps the most significant point of comparison between the Constantinople and Ephesus

⁹ S. Ladstätter and A. Pülz, "Ephesus in the late Roman and early Byzantine period: Changes in its urban character from the third to seventh century AD," in Poulter, *The Transition to Late Antiquity* (supra n. 3), 391–433, at 398–402.

¹⁰ See in general C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City* (Cambridge 1979) 47–95; on the Justinianic monument previously thought to be of the evangelists, see Ladstätter and Pülz, "Ephesus in the

late Roman and early Byzantine period" (supra n. 9), 402, 415–16 (on churches).

¹¹ Ladstätter and Pülz, "Ephesus in the late Roman and early Byzantine period" (supra n. 9), 405.

¹² For the date and a somewhat different view, see *ibid.*, 395–97; A.G. Poulter, "The transition to late antiquity," in *idem*, *Transition to Late Antiquity* (supra n. 3), 1–50, at 24.

is, however, in the treatment of mythological statuary. In neither city was there any hesitation about displaying images of the old gods in public contexts, even though, as Aurenhammer shows, Ephesus's cult buildings tended to be dismantled, and as Alexander Sokolicek points out, the study of statue bases does show that despite their role in enhancing a cityscape, statues could be the object of occasional vandalism. A moment of vandalism lasts forever in the archaeological record, and it is unfortunate that although we can identify the vandals in question as local Christians, we cannot now know the date at which, for instance, the Christian Demeas defaced the statue base of Artemis, or the date of the seeming mass castration of statues in the nymphaeum at Miletus and in Miletus's Baths of Faustina (though plainly well into the Christian period), as well as of the mutilation of the statue of Aphrodite from Room 5 in the same facility, a fate also suffered by statues in the bathhouses of Ephesus. Nor sadly can we reconstruct the aesthetic sense that lay behind the desire to gaze upon the genitally mutilated statues that were left in situ, though it does not stretch the bounds of credulity to associate these acts with the growing Christian discomfort with the public nudity that was characteristic of the classical city.¹³ In Constantinople, by way of contrast, statues seem to have been a good deal safer, possibly because they did not seem so much to represent a pagan past as they did an imperial present.

What the study of the inscribed bases at Ephesus does show is that there is a significant change in the venue for the erection of statues from those agorai to the street, not obviously because the old venues were filled up. This transition began in the mid- to late third century and continued into the sixth century. It is a process that has been observed in other cities and that would seem to reflect the gradual restructuring of public spaces, possibly as the traditional organs of civic government were undermined by the rise of the supra-regional groups—church and imperial officials—which came to dominate civic life. As this happened, some of the more important traditional spaces, such as Ephesus's Tetragonos Agora, ceased to be used as they had been in the past (though the Ephesian agora appears to have continued in use for commercial purposes), and the living could reflect that the memorials of the dead were being repurposed before their eyes—a fate perhaps less grim than that of the agora of the Upper City at Ilion which, as activity shifted to the Lower City, began to be used as a cemetery.¹⁴ The upper agora remained in use until the middle of the fifth century, when after yet another earthquake it seems to have been given over to private occupancy.¹⁵

Designer city walls are another feature of the late antique cityscape. In the first several centuries A.D., as Simon Esmonde Cleary has shown, there was a tendency for circuits of walls in the Roman world to be linked with assertions of civic status rather than the necessities of defense. This is especially the case in places where, as at Arles, circuit walls could be breached to add other urban prestige projects—an amphitheater—or where the circuit encompasses significantly more territory than was needed by the population.¹⁶ In the mid-third century it is possible to identify some emergency or reactive fortifications such as the post-Herulian wall at Athens or the nearly contemporary wall built around Verona.¹⁷ Likewise there are some signs of places that were able to revamp existing defensive circuits just in time to avoid catastrophe, as seems to have been the case at Thessalonika, where the Hellenistic

¹³ P. Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York 1988) 315–17 (with especial reference to John Chrysostom), 437–38 (more generally).

¹⁴ For the use of the Tetragonos Agora, see Landstätter and Pülz, "Ephesus in the late Roman and early Byzantine period" (supra n. 9), 405.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 406.

¹⁶ S. Esmonde Cleary, "Civil defences in the west under the high empire," in P. Wilson (ed.), *The Archaeology of Roman Towns. Studies in Honour of John S. Wacher* (Oxford 2003) 72–85.

¹⁷ On the characteristics of these walls, see H. W. Dey, *The Aurelian Wall and the Refashioning of Imperial Rome, AD 271–855* (Cambridge 2011) 120.

wall was strengthened in time to save the city from sack, as was also the case at Miletus. Other walled cities were not so fortunate, which is perhaps an important reminder that a new circuit was not necessarily a prophylactic panacea: Philippopolis may have been betrayed by its own defenders in A.D. 251, while it is uncertain if the defences of Antioch were betrayed in A.D. 252 or taken with the aid of the massive ram that Ammianus would later see in Dura.¹⁸ A new move towards walls arguably as urban status symbols begins with the Aurelian wall at Rome in the 270s, and continues with the elaborate fortification of new tetrarchic capitals such as Trier or Milan, which might be seen as the inspiration for new wall building throughout western Europe.¹⁹ Philipp Niewöhner makes an important contribution to our understanding of this phenomenon in Asia Minor, showing that there are in fact two distinctive phases of circuit construction in Asia Minor, the first around A.D. 400 (roughly contemporary with the massive new Theodosian walls at Constantinople), the other after A.D. 600. The fifth-century circuits can be seen in the context of other urban embellishments such as "churches and a palace and stoas and lodgings for the magistrates"—all structures, for instance, that Procopius says Justinian added to Helenopolis in Bithynia.²⁰ The cities that display tetrarchic and post-tetrarchic circuits include Aphrodisias, Sardis, Anemurium, Smyrna/Izmir, Sagalassos, Hierapolis in Phrygia, Laodicea on the Lycus, Tlos, Blaundos, Limyra, Amorium, and, as Richard Posamentir shows, Anazarbos. These new walls sometimes sought to preserve impressive features of earlier walls as was the case with the gates of Perge and Side. Functional walls, lacking elaborate towers and sophisticated gates, and surrounding far less area than the early circuits, can now more clearly be seen as characteristic of the circumstances of the seventh century A.D., though Procopius observes that Justinian replaced a number of "display walls" in Cappadocia with defensible circuits in the previous century. Caesarea, for instance had been:

... surrounded by a wall which, by reason of its immoderate extent, was very easy to attack and altogether impossible to defend. For it embraced a great expanse of land that was not at all necessary to the city, and by reason of its excessive size it was easily assailable by an attacking force. High hills rise there, not standing very close together, but far apart. These the founder of the city was anxious to enclose within the circuit-wall so that they might not be a threat against the city; and in the name of safety he did a thing which was fraught with danger. For he enclosed within the walls many open fields and gardens as well as rocky cliffs and pasture-lands for flocks. However, even at a later time the inhabitants of the place decided not to build anything in this area, but it remained exactly as it had been. Even such houses as did chance to be in this district have continued to be isolated and solitary up to the present day. And neither could the garrison maintain a proper defense in keeping with the extent of the wall, nor was it possible for the inhabitants to keep it in repair, seeing that it was so large. And because they seemed to be unprotected, they were in constant terror. But the Emperor Justinian tore down the unnecessary portions of the circuit-wall and surrounded the city with a wall which was truly safe, and made defenses which would be thoroughly impregnable in case of attack; and then he made the place strong by the addition of a sufficient garrison (Procopius, *De aedificiis* 5.4.7 [Loeb translation, minimally adapted]).

Urban and Rural Economy

The state of the eastern empire's urban economy in the century prior to the seventh century revolves around the dichotomy between evident urban decline of Asia Minor and the seeming prosperity of

¹⁸ D. S. Potter, *The Roman Empire at Bay, AD 180–395*, Routledge History of the Ancient World (London 2004) 246, 249.

¹⁹ Dey, *The Aurelian Wall* (supra n. 17), 126–28.

²⁰ Procopius, *De aedificiis* 5.2.5; the oft-noted inaccuracies

of this work are not significant to the present argument, which is concerned with ideology rather than reality; see also the review of the issues in Poulter, "The transition to late antiquity" (supra n. 12), 9–11.

the regions beyond the Anatolian plateau from the fifth to seventh centuries. Georges Tchalenko's justifiably famous publication of his study of the villages on the limestone massif south of Antioch made it impossible to write a unified story of urban collapse across the eastern empire, even with Jean-Pierre Sodon's and Georges Tate's important observation that the economy of these villages was not based as Tchalenko had suggested on the olive oil export business, raising the question of whether what we are seeing in this area is "aggregate growth" resulting from a shift of population into the area, or "intensive growth" stemming from increased efficiency of production as well as a change in the population.²¹ It remains the case that there does seem to be a rise in the importance of this area, and it is possible that the increased prosperity of villages is connected with the fascination with the holy men who often seem to have acted as patrons of these places. At the same time, work on early Byzantine Egypt, perhaps most provocatively by Jairus Banaji, focused attention on the increasing prosperity of village elites in the fifth and sixth centuries, while James Keenan notes that any picture of rural decline in Egypt from the sixth to ninth century remains "ragged."²² The great unanswered (and sometimes unasked) question is whether it is possible to gauge the surplus created by these places, and whether it is possible to quantify the scale of change. In order to understand what is happening, it is useful to be able to gain a view of regional developments in turn (even allowing that there is not absolute coherence in the evidence across the region), in this case beginning with the Anatolian evidence and then turning to the zone across the Taurus. In trying to assess the significance of what has been found, it is also important to be able to look at what we can know about how the institutions of the state were able to function, which is the purpose of the final section of this paper.

This volume contributes three important studies of the situation in Asia Minor for the period in question. In presenting the results of their survey of the region around Aphrodisias, Christopher Ratté and Peter De Staebler show that while the development of the late Hellenistic and Roman city involved a definite shift of population away from upland sites into the valley, there is no comparable shift in late antiquity of the population out of the city into the previously occupied sites of the hinterland. The data suggest that while the development of the city may or may not be connected with significant growth in the population of the area, the deurbanization of Aphrodisias in the early seventh century seems to be connected with a genuine decline. What we do not see here is a phenomenon similar to that postulated in other regions—e.g., Britain—where the end of Roman rule was marked by a return of the population to immediately pre-Roman modes of existence.²³ A further point of interest here is that Aphrodisias was out of the area most affected by the Persian invasion or later Arab raids, which perforce concentrated on urban areas that were along the route to Constantinople, and if—as seems

²¹ G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord: le massif du Bélus à l'époque romaine*, 3 vols, *Bibliothèque archéologique et historique* 50 (Paris 1953–1958); G. Tate, *Les campagnes de la Syrie du Nord du II^e au VII^e siècle: un exemple d'expansion démographique et économique dans les campagnes à la fin de l'antiquité*, *Bibliothèque archéologique et historique* 133 (Paris 1992); C. Foss, "Syria in transition, A.D. 550–750: An archaeological approach," *DOP* 51 (1997) 189–269, at 197–204; see also C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages. Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800* (Oxford 2005) 442–59, challenging Tate's challenge to Tchalenko, by arguing that inter-regional transport of mass produced goods (e.g., olive oil) enhanced the economy of the region, but the institutions he looks at were not new and evidence from the

time of Heraclius suggests that the economic expansion here was the result of aggregate rather than intensive growth. For the distinction between these forms of growth, see now A. Bowman and A. Wilson, "Quantifying the Roman economy: Integration, growth, decline?" in eidem (eds.), *Quantifying the Roman Economy: Methods and Problems*, *Oxford Studies in the Roman Economy* 1 (Oxford 2009) 3–84, at 28.

²² J. Banaji, *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity: Gold, Labour, and Aristocratic Dominance* (Oxford 2001); J.G. Keenan, "Byzantine Egyptian villages" in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300–700* (Cambridge 2007) 226–43, at 240.

²³ S. Esmonde Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain* (London 1989) 130–61.

very likely—there had been an inflated mortality rate stemming from the great epidemic of the sixth century, it would have been reasonable to expect that a recovery would have been underway if people were still seeking to live in this area. While warfare and disease may be contributory factors to this tale of urban decline, neither is sufficient to explain the phenomenon.

What is also striking about the Aphrodisias survey is that its results seem quite different from those of the survey carried out in the area of Sagalassos, where the shift in settlement away from the urban center is both earlier and may be more closely connected with rural expansion. At Sagalassos, as at Aphrodisias and elsewhere, urban life appeared to follow a consistent pattern, with the city plan remaining intact into the middle of the fifth century. After that the city appears to have entered into a period of rapid decline, in which stately homes become less elegant (one has a stable built into it), and suburbs lose their residential function and are used for more intensive cultivation, while villages, now located in more remote spots, appear to become more significant. Various explanations have been canvassed for the systemic collapse of the area, including problems with the water supply, security breakdowns, earthquakes, declines in trade, plague, and changes in local government, some of which might reasonably be seen as effects rather than causes, and none of which are necessarily unique (even in combination) to the sixth century.²⁴ Still, perhaps the salient point that emerges from Hannelore Vanhaverbeke's important survey is that a single model or chronology for the collapse of urban life is not viable, nor, as she indicates in her conclusion, should it be necessarily assumed that an urban economy was the most viable economy for regions such as this one (a point that is reasonably extended to Syria and Osroene).

The second Turkish survey reviewed in this volume covers the Granicus region. It remains to be seen whether this will tell the same tale as the Aphrodisias survey or resemble more closely that of the Sagalassos survey. For the sixth to seventh century more work is plainly needed to place the fortifications at Alacaoluk and Asartepe in their proper context. For the earlier period, however, the results are very promising. The fresh analysis of the road system offers important insight into the development of the region, which, with Nicomedia and Constantinople, was the "capital district" of the fourth-century Roman world. Another promising survey, this one of the region around Sardis, is still at too early a stage to enable us to know if the trend in the sixth to seventh century was that of actual population decline or population transfer, as Sardis itself underwent the transition from classical to post-classical city, though it does not seem that there is yet evidence to suggest a repopulation of the countryside on the scale of the Lydian period.²⁵ That development is traced in Marcus Rautman's important review of work on the late Roman aspects of the site in the last three decades.

One fascinating feature of the urban landscape of early fourth-century Sardis is that the line of the original Lydian wall was still evident, a feature of the cultural archaism of the previous centuries and of the importance that cities could attach to the preservation of genuine antiquities.²⁶ The continued importance of this relic is reflected by the incorporation of portions of the old wall into the 4 km "designer" circuit that was built in the fourth century, surrounding an area evidently

²⁴ H. Vanhaverbeke, F. Martens, and M. Waelkens, "Another view on late antiquity: Sagalassos (SW Anatolia), its suburbium and its countryside in late antiquity," in Poulter, *Transition to Late Antiquity* (supra n. 3), 611–48.

²⁵ C.H. Roosevelt, "Central Lydia Archaeological Survey: 2005 results," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 24.2 (2007) 135–54; C.H. Roosevelt and C. Luke, "Central Lydia Archaeological Survey: 2006 results," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 25.3 (2008) 305–26; eidem, "Central Lydia Archaeological

Survey: 2007 results," *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 26.2 (2009) 433–50.

²⁶ D. Potter, "Cultural archaism and community identity: The case of Xanthos and Paphos," *Διαλέξεις, Ομιλίες, Εκδηλώσεις Α* (Nicosia 1994) 427–41; E.K. Yegül, "Memory, metaphor, and meaning in the cities of Asia Minor," in E. Fentress (ed.), *Romanization and the City. Creation, Transformations, and Failures*, *JRA Suppl.* 38 (Portsmouth, RI 2000) 133–53.

rather larger than required by the actual population. One curiosity that Rautman notices is that even while there are some characteristic construction projects of this period, such as the reconstruction of the Marble Road, and some new luxury properties for the town's elite (a possible reflection of the increasing economic gap between the new "leading" men and earlier curiales), there does not seem to have been a great deal of money spent on new churches. This is not to say that there were not churches being built, as in the case of Church M near the Temple of Artemis or Building D in the heart of the city, now provisionally identified as a church, but rather to say that the scale of this construction appears to have been less than in other major cities, such as Ephesus. The most significant new religious building that has been identified from the fourth century is in fact the synagogue near the Bath-Gymnasium Complex. The city's well-being into the second half of the sixth century makes the testimony for decline around the year A.D. 600 all the more striking, and there appears to be clear evidence for the damage done to the city in the course of the Persian campaign against Constantinople in the destruction of the "Byzantine Shops" in A.D. 616. Such destruction should not, of course, have had a long-term impact on the economic vitality of the city—and Persian administration in newly occupied lands tended to rely heavily on existing elites—but the failure of the area to recover suggests that the Persian invasion is part of the longer-term process that left the cities of the region in a state of extreme economic fragility.

Troy and Blaundos offer important counter-examples to the relatively consistent stories told by the ruins of provincial capitals. In the case of Troy, as Brian Rose points out, the city, still thriving at the beginning of the fourth century when Constantine allegedly thought of using it as the site of his capital, was in serious decline before A.D. 500 as witnessed by the use of the upper agora as a cemetery in the previous half century. In A.D. 500 a devastating earthquake struck the city. At this time the Lower City was abandoned and the remaining population withdrew to the acropolis, and somewhat later it would seem that the city sank into the shadow of the massive new granary Justinian constructed on Tenedus to facilitate the rapid turnaround by the grain fleet from Alexandria.²⁷ The last residents left the area in the early seventh century. Whether this can be blamed on their location in the path of Persian and Arab armies is, however, an open question, as any analysis of this situation must also take account of the cities that continued as urban centers after A.D. 600, including Smyrna, Nicaea, Trebizond, and Attaleia.²⁸ Such analysis needs also to take account of a place like Blaundos, whose decline cannot be self-evidently associated with the wars of the world crisis. It appears that Blaundos was doing well enough to equip itself with a designer wall around A.D. 400, built in the most laborious way possible. A century later, or so it seems, things had changed. As Axel Filges notes, the obvious absence of Byzantine pottery compared to that of the previous two centuries might reasonably imply a decreasing importance and population. At the same time, there was significant change in the town's structure as the previously planned and grid-patterned town with its strong composition of public and open spaces and private buildings changed into a town with a much more loosely patterned arrangement of buildings, avoiding large buildings and large open spaces other than the agora.

The new evidence from the Anatolian surveys sharpens the focus on the seeming disconnect between the development of lands south or east of the Taurus and those to north and west of the mountains. As Posamentir's analysis of Anazarbos in Cilicia reminds us, all generalization is somewhat risky. At Anazarbos, the redating of the second circuit of walls to the second half of the sixth century

²⁷ Procopius, *De aedificiis* 5.1.8–14.

²⁸ For these cities see Brandes, *Die Städte Kleinasien* (supra n. 1), 124–31.

makes clear a sudden decline in the city's fortunes. This is all the more striking as the outlines of the Roman city are clearly respected in the new building (largely, it seems, Christian) that took place in the early sixth century; the fifth-century walls took care to respect the existing city plan; and artisans working on new buildings took care to respect the traditions of the past. Indeed, in the construction of the new Church of the Apostles, the craftsmen "reanimated" the ancient blocks (some 300 or 400 years old) that they incorporated into their building through the addition of new bands of ornament or created new blocks with decorative elements carved in the style of the second or third centuries. Similar respect for the past appears in one of the churches in Hierapolis Kastabala, where architraves were reused in a similar position. There is similar evidence at Akören in the territory of Anazarbos, where the remains of two small villages, one of about 55 houses (Akören I), the other of about 90 (Akören II), are the object of Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt's careful survey. Here, where there was no original material from Roman imperial times, craftsmen imitated earlier architectural elements, and individual house plans in the fifth and sixth centuries seem to echo earlier patterns. In both places, the characteristic settlement pattern consisting of densely grouped, roughly similarly sized houses with no obvious social hierarchy suggests that they were independent peasant communities.²⁹ The pattern continues seamlessly into the sixth century, and the most obvious breaks in continuity may be associated with the replacement of pagan shrines by the early sixth-century churches that looked to stylistic models from Anazarbos. The sudden decline in the area, which must also now be dated to the second half of the sixth century, was so striking that earlier studies had tended to look for a considerably later date—as late as A.D. 800—than now seems plausible.

Outside of a strictly urban context, a great deal of attention has long been focused on the development of the limestone massif south of Antioch. It is thus of great importance that these studies can now be supplemented by Peter Baumeister's survey of Osrhoene. It should perhaps not be surprising that the limestone massif south of Antioch should provide the most significant comparanda for the material that he and his team have published since, as he notes, it is likely that the entire region was once a cohesive cultural area with a very homogenous development and typical cultural features, and it can now be demonstrated that workmen with the same technical training were employed across the region. Furthermore, as Baumeister points out, Procopius's work on Justinian's building projects reveals the imperial government's devotion of significant resources to this area's development. At Edessa, the chief city of the region, evidence for the construction of many new churches and other official buildings of religious character reflect the city's economic power. In this context, the settlements in northwestern Osrhoene suggest that the hinterland, removed as it was from major traffic routes, showed comparable development. The problem, of course, is how we might gain some insight into the significance of this growth. Does it simply mean that more people were moving into the countryside and existing at a level that might not be far above that of subsistence, or does it mean that there was more extensive growth, producing a significant surplus?

Archaeological and epigraphic studies of local economies are of enormous value in providing an impression of the sorts of industries that might exist and the extent to which the needs of cities shaped the economic activity of the countryside. Thus in the marginal territory of southern Isauria that forms the basis of Günder Varinlioğlu's study, there is evidence for a combination of economic strategies, including the cultivation of grains, grapes, and olives, as well as gardening, and the herding of sheep and goats, whose hair and skin were processed in Isaurian-Cilician cities and harbor

²⁹ On the significance of this for our understanding of social conditions within the village, see Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages* (supra n. 21), 447.

settlements. The metal industry and arms factory in Seleucia required large quantities of wood, while there is also evidence for miscellaneous products, such as saffron, plants used in dyeing textiles, game animals, pistachios (a seller of which is known in Corycus), and laurel (whose leaves and fruits were used in cooking, soap making, and medicine). This study complements other useful analyses such as those of the municipal tariffs for Anazarbos with its mixture of goods including saffron, garum, heavy cordage, gourds, fennel, garlic, fried foods, wine, salt, plant grafts, common silk, tin, lead, slaves, cattle and carob.³⁰ The problem with such studies, however, is whether or not they can offer a clear view of the relative importance of the various elements of the local economy. Of the inscriptions with which G. Varinlioglu has worked, only 13 and 15.3 per cent represent people working in food production, while those recording people engaged in manufacture range, by region, from roughly 24 to roughly 28 per cent, and those related to ecclesiastical employment (a clear indication that the data are unlikely to reflect true proportions) range from roughly 20 to roughly 23 per cent. If we focus specifically on Frank Trombley's examination of occupations on sixth- to eighth-century inscriptions from Corycus, a coastal community in Rough Cilicia, we see that of some 456 inscriptions listing occupations, some 25 per cent were clerical or administrative, while the evidence from other trades suggested that there was a heavy class bias in reportage of other occupations within categories. Hence while five net-makers are attested, there is only one fisherman on record. On the other hand, Trombley's statistics also suggest that within categories of "peer occupations" such as people working in food preparation, the heavier representation of people working with bread products (e.g., running granaries or bakeries) than people running butcher shops might represent the greater importance of bread in the diet (though the relatively small number of people dealing in vegetables might again reflect a class rather than a dietary bias).³¹ In sum, these are important studies, but studies that need to be read with considerable care and alongside evidence offered by papyrological data. One (admittedly preliminary) survey of the best-attested occupations for Arsinoe, Hermopolis, and Aphridito offers the following breakdown:³²

centuries covered	Arsinoe sixth–eighth	Hermopolis fifth–eighth	Aphridito sixth and eighth
food	36.1%	35.6%	16.5%
textile	18.8%	17.85%	8.35%
construction	17%	17.85%	7.85%
river trades	5.85%	5.9%	19.0%

Other data, also imprecise, suggest that somewhere between 25 and 30 per cent of people in Egypt might engage in an occupation other than farming, but also that there could be substantial variation between metropolitan sites and villages; relatively small numbers of people, for instance, could be engaged in crafts in villages, whereas a higher percentage could be engaged in crafts in larger

³⁰ G. Dagron and D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie, Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance* 4 (Paris 1987) n. 128, with discussion of the local aspect in the review by D. Potter, "Recent inscriptions from Flat Cilicia," *JRA* 2 (1989) 305–12, at 311; C. Morrisson and J.-P. Sodini, "The sixth-century economy," in A. Laiou (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Washington 2002) 207.

³¹ F.R. Trombley, "Korykos in Cilicia Trachis: The economy of a small coastal city in late antiquity (saec. V–VI)—a précis," *The Ancient History Bulletin* 1.1 (1987) 16–23; he should not be blamed for the discussion of peer occupations in the text above.

³² P. van Minnen, "The other cities in later Roman Egypt," in Bagnall, *Egypt in the Byzantine World* (supra n. 22), 207–25, at 222.

areas, with some occupations such as wine merchant, linen-weaver, or silversmith being limited to larger places.³³ If the Egyptian and other epigraphic data are allowed as reasonable comparanda for Varinlioglu's, then it would seem that agricultural labor is likely very much under-represented, but that the proportion of those who might have been engaged in some sort of manufacturing (which would not, presumably, have ruled some household agricultural employment out) was somewhat over-represented; it is also possible that the clothing production in Cilicia was somewhat differently structured than it was in Egypt—but even this conclusion may presume too much on the very impressionistic nature of the evidence.

Economic Decline and the Wars of the Seventh Century

The papers collected in this volume cannot completely explain what happened to the classical city in Asia Minor during the sixth and seventh centuries. What they can (and do) achieve is to place interpretative problems in clearer focus. One of these problems is the impact of the great sixth-century plague. Although it is plausible that the plague did severe harm, that alone is not a sufficient explanation of the picture of diverse declines that are evident in these papers, and neither is the political crisis of the early seventh century.³⁴ Another problem is the impact of the Persian invasion. Although it can be said with some certainty that some cities of Asia Minor show signs of serious damage at Persian hands, it can also be said with equal certainty that they did not fall into decline simply because Persian armies showed up in the decade after A.D. 614. The military failures in the years after Phocas murdered Maurice may more readily be seen as a result of existing problems than as their cause.

In the reign of Justinian there were already signs that the Roman government lacked the power to restrain a full-scale Persian invasion. While this might have something to do with the plague, the plague actually seems to have exercised some restraint over the Persians who withdrew in the face of the horror. Although Roman armies were spectacularly successful against Persian forces in the reign of Maurice, some allowance needs to be made for highly competent Roman exploitation of disunity and ineptitude on the part of the Persians. In the main, the imperial government relied on a defense in depth to keep the Persians from launching deep raids into their own territory—a strategic concept that should not be seen as a modern construct as it is explicitly attributed to Justinian in the case of the Balkans.³⁵

Although the strategy of defense in depth was by and large successful over many centuries, it reflected the fact that the eastern provinces could not support a military establishment capable of launching a sustained offensive into Persian territory.³⁶ The progressive collapse of imperial control over the Balkans in the half century after Justinian, robbed the imperial regime, already stretched thin by the need to garrison Africa, Italy, and Spain in the post-Justinianic era, of crucial reserves.

³³ R. Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (London 2002) 224–337; the figure preferred by Alston is 28 per cent, but he admits that this is speculative.

³⁴ For a sensible treatment of the problem see W. Brandes, "Byzantine cities in the seventh and eighth centuries—different sources, different histories?" in G.P. Brogiolo and B. Ward-Perkins (eds.), *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden 1999) 25–58, at 32–36.

³⁵ Procopius, *De aedificiis* 4.11.20.

³⁶ L.M. Whitby, "Recruitment in Roman armies from Justinian to Heraclius (ca. 565–615)," in A. Cameron (ed.),

The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East III. States, Resources and Armies, Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 1 (Princeton 1995) 61–124 offers a balanced analysis of Byzantine resources, while J. Howard-Johnston, "The two great powers in late antiquity: A comparison," in Cameron, *The Byzantine and Islamic Near East III* (supra this note), 157–226 shows that the Sassanian state was likely more efficient in the extraction of resources from its people and mustered forces that were on a par with Roman armies, though it should be noted that neither study places the stress on the problem of the Balkans that is asserted here.

It perhaps might also be the case that the collapse of urban society in the Balkans had an impact on the cities of Asia Minor, for it is in the context of failure in the Balkans that we begin to see signs of significant economic slowdown in what is now Turkey.³⁷ This was a gradual process, for "post-curial" government and what might be described as "post-classical" settlements had become commonplace in the course of the fifth century. So it was that, for instance, by A.D. 450 Nicopolis ad Istrum had already declined significantly—and then it was sacked by the Huns. In the reign of Maurice the citizens, garrison, and bishop of Arsemus (60 km northwest of Nicopolis, and a place that had once resisted Attila with success) united in refusing to contribute to a campaign against the Avars; which may be a sign that both places had become centers for local landowners who, lacking the means to flee, were stuck finding a way forward on their own.³⁸ If that is the case, then Nicopolis and Arsemus may also be seen as exemplifying a particular model of urban devolution unlike those seen so far in Anatolia.

Does the decline of urban life in the Balkans suggest that a viable Aegean economy was necessary to the stability of Asia Minor, and that the loss of trading partners on the far side of the Aegean severely harmed the regional economy? The weakened cities of the Balkans while still under Roman control had begun planting new crops, preferring legumes and millet to winter-sown grains. This meant that they had to import wheat, and that the population, living on a more tenuous diet, was less healthy.³⁹ Certainly it might suggest that the region was not making much of a net contribution to the economy of the empire as a whole, and if we see the developments of Syria or Oshroene as an imperial ideal, the situation in the Balkans appears to have been the opposite of that in the second half of the fifth century—even imperial victories such as those of Maurice in the 590s could not alter the course of decline.⁴⁰ Economic collapse and social transition do not happen overnight, but the process was beyond the capacity of a weakened pre-modern polity to change, and after each challenge the state was less able to withstand another.⁴¹ Certainly the loss of the Balkans was a far more sustained blow to the empire than even the horrendous pestilence of Justinian's time.

It has long been noted that there was a great deal of continuity between the economic regime of Syria and Egypt in the late Roman period and that of the Umayyads. Not only are there no signs of any immediate change in patterns of land exploitation, there is also evidence for continuity within the elite, a concept which is itself problematic as the requirements for admission to such a group varied wildly from place to place. As Dorotheus of Gaza famously put the problem, a man who was great at Gaza would be of the middling sort at Caesarea, a peasant at Antioch, and poor in Constantinople.⁴² The middling, or Gaza-esque, elite of Syria and Egypt appears to have suffered little long-term effect

³⁷ For evidence on the loss of Balkan cities see Brandes, "Byzantine cities" (supra n. 34), 41–43; J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, "The lower Danube region under pressure: From Valens to Heraclius," in Poulter, *Transition to Late Antiquity* (supra n. 3), 101–34, at 108; J.-P. Sodini, "The transformation of cities in late antiquity within the provinces of Macedonia and Epirus," in Poulter, *Transition to Late Antiquity* (supra n. 3), 311–36, at 314–15.

³⁸ Priscus, Fr. 9 (Blockley) with Liebeschuetz, "The lower Danube region under pressure" (supra n. 37), 104–105; Theoph. 7.3.1 for the sixth century, with M. Whitton, "Nicopolis ad Istrum: Backward and Balkan?" in Poulter, *Transition to Late Antiquity* (supra n. 3), 375–89, at 386.

³⁹ A.G. Poulter, *Nicopolis ad Istrum: A Roman, Late Roman, and Early Byzantine City. Excavations 1985–1992*, JRS Monograph 8 (London 1995) 44.

⁴⁰ Liebeschuetz, "The lower Danube region under pressure" (supra n. 37), 128–29.

⁴¹ See also Poulter, "The transition to late antiquity" (supra n. 12), 46.

⁴² Dorotheos, *Didaskalia* 2.6, with C. Wickham, "Conclusion," in Haldon and Conrad, *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East VI* (supra n. 6), 285–98, at 285; for further discussion of the problem in archaeological terms, see J.-P. Sodini, "Archaeology and late antique social structures," in L. Lavan and W. Bowden (eds.), *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology*, *Late Antique Archaeology* 1 (Leiden 2003) 25–56, and several of the contributions in Bowden, Gutteridge, and Machado, *Social and Political Life in Late Antiquity* (supra n. 4).

from the changes in government, if its members survived the immediate shock (most did) of the Persian conquest, which was genuinely vicious in some places—Jerusalem, where seven mass burials have been uncovered, is a prime example—and caused such dread that the population of a place like Abu Mina would flee before the coming of the enemy.⁴³ Such people were also not in a position to leave, though in the case of those who had achieved a status within the imperial regime it may have been harder to stay put. Although there is some continuity between members of the Roman and Umayyad elite, there is also a fair amount of evidence to suggest that suspected supporters of the old regime were exiled as part of settlements with their cities.⁴⁴

Still, even if continuity is evident, the question remains as to just how much surplus value was being produced in the agricultural lands of Syria and Mesopotamia. The answer may be provided by Tabari's account of the trial of Chosroes II after his deposition in A.D. 628, which, as James Howard-Johnston has convincingly shown, reflects a late Sassanian history, *The Book of Lords*.⁴⁵ The Roman victories at the root of the political chaos in Persia were the result of extraordinary miscalculations on the Sassanian side, for their main army had been left in the west and was unable to intervene against Heraclius's forces as they advanced south from Armenia. These same forces withdrew to Armenia after ravaging the area around Ctesiphon before having to confront the main army. At his trial the king (who, unsurprisingly, was executed in the aftermath) was accused of the murder of his predecessor (true), the ill-treatment of his sons, the brutality of his lengthy prison terms, lack of affection towards his harem, treacherous behavior towards Maurice, and:

[Fifth,] what you have inflicted on your subjects generally in levying the land tax and in treating them with harshness and violence. [Sixth,] your amassing a great amount of wealth, which you exacted from the people with great brutality so that you drove them to consider your rule hateful and thereby brought them into affliction and deprivation. [Seventh,] your stationing the troops for long periods along the frontiers with the Byzantines and on other frontiers, thereby separating them from their families (al-Tabari [Nöldeke p. 1047, tr. Bosworth]).⁴⁶

There is no obvious reason to believe that taxation was not in fact a serious issue, for Chosroes's successor promptly repealed some of the taxes that Chosroes had imposed, and while it is possible that the charge that Chosroes hoarded his wealth may have some validity—in his defense Chosroes does say that only a fool does not realize that a king maintains his authority through wealth and armies—the fact of these charges suggests that, although having taken possession of Syria, Oshroene, and Egypt, Chosroes was unable to extract sufficient surplus from these lands to fund war and avoid alienating his subjects. In Roman lands it is apparent that he retained the Roman tax system and many of the collectors who had been in post at the time of the conquest. A reasonable conclusion is that the surplus generated by these lands was not sufficiently robust to support the costs of aggressive warfare. This might also suggest that the economic expansion of these regions was not significantly above the subsistence level.

⁴³ On continuity of the elite, see Foss, "The Persians in the Roman Near East" (supra n. 2), 154; on mass graves at Jerusalem at the time of the Persian sack, see G. Avni, "The Persian conquest of Jerusalem (614 C.E.)—an archaeological assessment," *BASOR* 357 (2010) 35–48, at 36–37, and 44 for the lack of longer-term consequences; for the situation at Abu Mina see N. Litinas, *Greek Ostraca from Abu Mina (O. Abu Mina)*, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete Beiheft* 25 (Berlin 2008) x (the population returned when the Persians left).

⁴⁴ Kennedy, "Syrian elites from Byzantium to Islam" (supra n. 7), 189–98.

⁴⁵ J. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a World Crisis: Historians and Histories of the Middle East in the Seventh Century* (Oxford 2010) 367–68.

⁴⁶ C.E. Bosworth, *The History of al-Tabari*, vol. 5. *The Sasanids, the Byzantines, the Lakhmids, and Yemen* (Albany 1999) 383.

The relative fragility of the imperial tax system had direct consequences for the empire's ability to defend itself. Although the Persians left the infrastructure of taxation intact, there is no reason to think that in the few years that intervened between the end of the Persian war and the Arab invasion of Palestine that the Roman state had become suddenly more powerful. In the wake of Roman defeats in Palestine and Syria, cities saw it better to negotiate with the new arrivals than to resist. The leaders of these cities saw no reason to sacrifice themselves for a regime that had proved ineffective and, with its aggressive stance against the monophysite population of the area, offensive. The extreme monotheists who followed the revelation of Mohammed were not yet obviously followers of a new religion, and it seems that their leaders were happy to leave existing administrative regimes in place. If we knew more about the settlements that were reached in Syria and Palestine we might be better able to interpret the settlement for one-year's joint rule as the Romans evacuated Egypt in A.D. 642, but as it is the recent publication of two Rainier papyri from the year of the Arab conquest have shed important light upon the situation. In one we find reference to a boat "bearing the seal of Amr" amongst a number of others in the harbor at Hermopolis.⁴⁷ In the second we read in a letter from the pagarch Athanasius to the notarius Senouthis:

The letter carrying *moagaritai* having come asking for boats, give them the boats where they want in your district so that in the future they do not come to me if they wish to get on the boats (*P. Rain.* 30 n. 11).

The term *moagaritai* is well known from papyri as a Greek rendition of *muhājirūn*, indicating "militarily active members of the community of Believers," or, it seems, more simply, Arab soldiers serving in the armies of the Amirs, and it is clear that accommodation was the order of the day.⁴⁸ The years of the Arab conquest are the years during which poleis largely disappeared or were replaced in Asia Minor by *castra*. In looking at urban history in these years and in the previous two centuries, we seem often to be finding areas whose economic prosperity was marginal. This though raises the question addressed in both the Sagalassos and Aphrodisias surveys: in looking ahead, are we also not failing to look far enough back to the pre-Roman period in which the city-state was rare? That might in turn raise the question of what form of the Roman imperial system was necessary to support urban culture. That system would seem to be the system of the first three centuries A.D., which could guarantee peace and security, because, even if the state could only hope to raise marginal surpluses from the regions under its control, the accumulation of those surpluses from across the Mediterranean basin enabled Augustus and his immediate successors to achieve overwhelming military power on the frontiers so long as only one frontier was subjected to a serious threat at any one time. It is perhaps worth noting that the great Islamic state that would come into being during the seventh century could not itself achieve the conquest of the vestigial Roman empire.

⁴⁷ See in general E. Morelli, *L'Archivio di Senouthios Anystes e testi connessi: lettere e documenti per la costruzione di una capitale*, *Corpus papyrorum Raineri Archiducis Austriae* 30 (Berlin 2010) 11–14; for the broader circumstances see H. Kennedy, *The Great Arab Conquests: How the Spread of Islam Changed the World We Live In* (London 2007) 152–53.

⁴⁸ For the term see SB 8.9755 and the discussion in H.I. Bell, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum IV. The Aphrodisias Papyri* (London 1910) xxxiv, and F. Donner, *Muhammed and the Believers: At the Origins of Islam* (Cambridge, MA 2010) 203–204 on *muhājirūn* and 98–99 on the proper title for the early leaders of the community being *amir al-mu'minin* rather than Caliph.

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